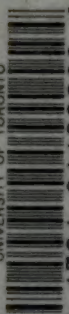
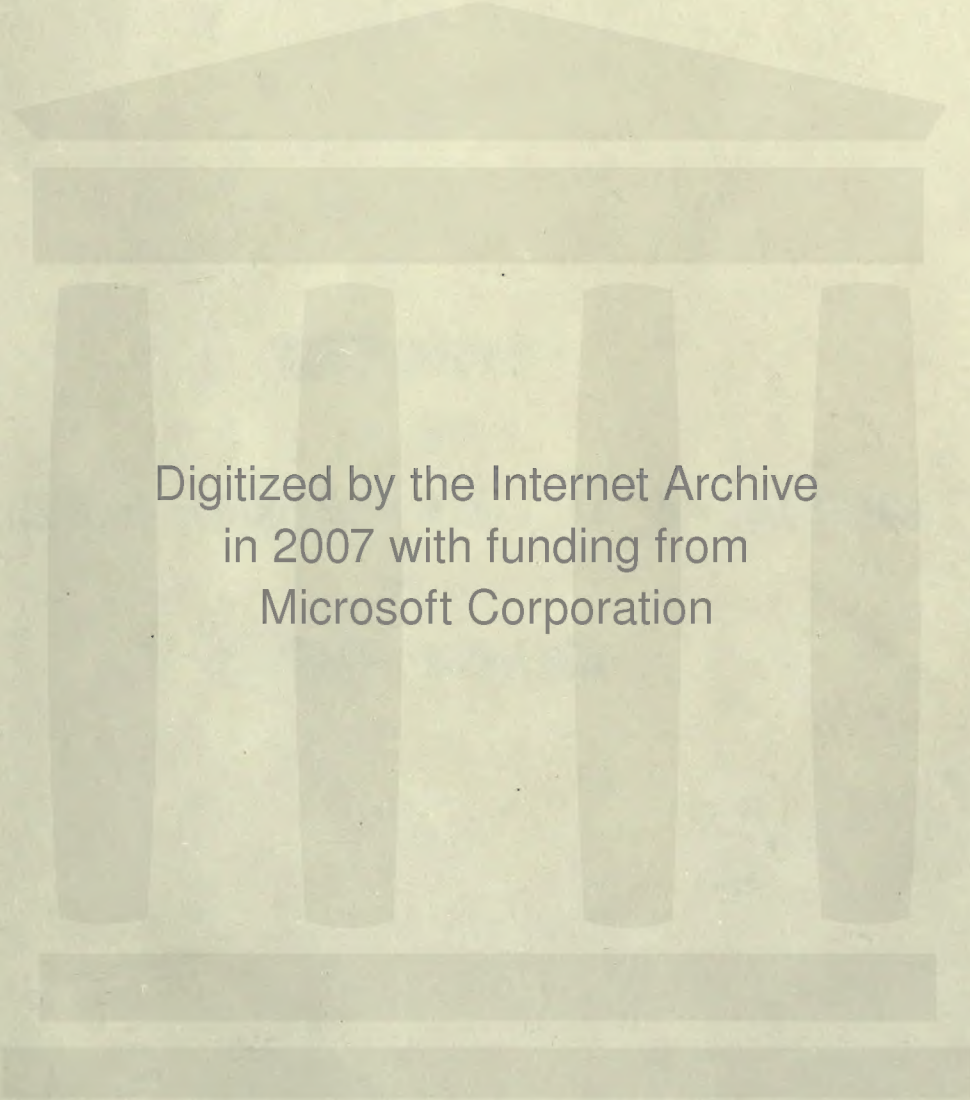


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REPORTS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
TO
TORRES STRAITS

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REPORTS
OF THE
CAMBRIDGE ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXPEDITION
TO
TORRES STRAITS

VOLUME VI
SOCIOLOGY, MAGIC AND RELIGION
OF THE
EASTERN ISLANDERS

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PREFACE

AT the request of certain friends this account of the Sociology, Magic and Religion of the Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits is published as Volume VI. of the Reports, before issuing Volumes I. and IV., and as a consequence the index to the whole series cannot appear in this volume. The next volume to be published will be Volume IV., which will deal with the material and æsthetic life of the natives, and Volume I., which will follow later, will contain a summary of our main results and an index, in addition to a detailed account of the physical characters of the Torres Straits Islanders.

The following is the system of spelling which has been adopted:

a as in "father"
ă as in "at"
e as *a* in "date"
ě as in "let"
ê as *ai* in "air"
i as *ee* in "feet"
ĩ as in "it"
o as in "own"

ð as *aw* in "saw"
u as *oo* in "soon"
ŭ as in "up"
ai as in "aisle"
au as *ow* in "cow"
ei as *ay* in "may"
oi as *oy* in "boy"

The consonants are sounded as in English.

A. C. HADDON.

May, 1908.

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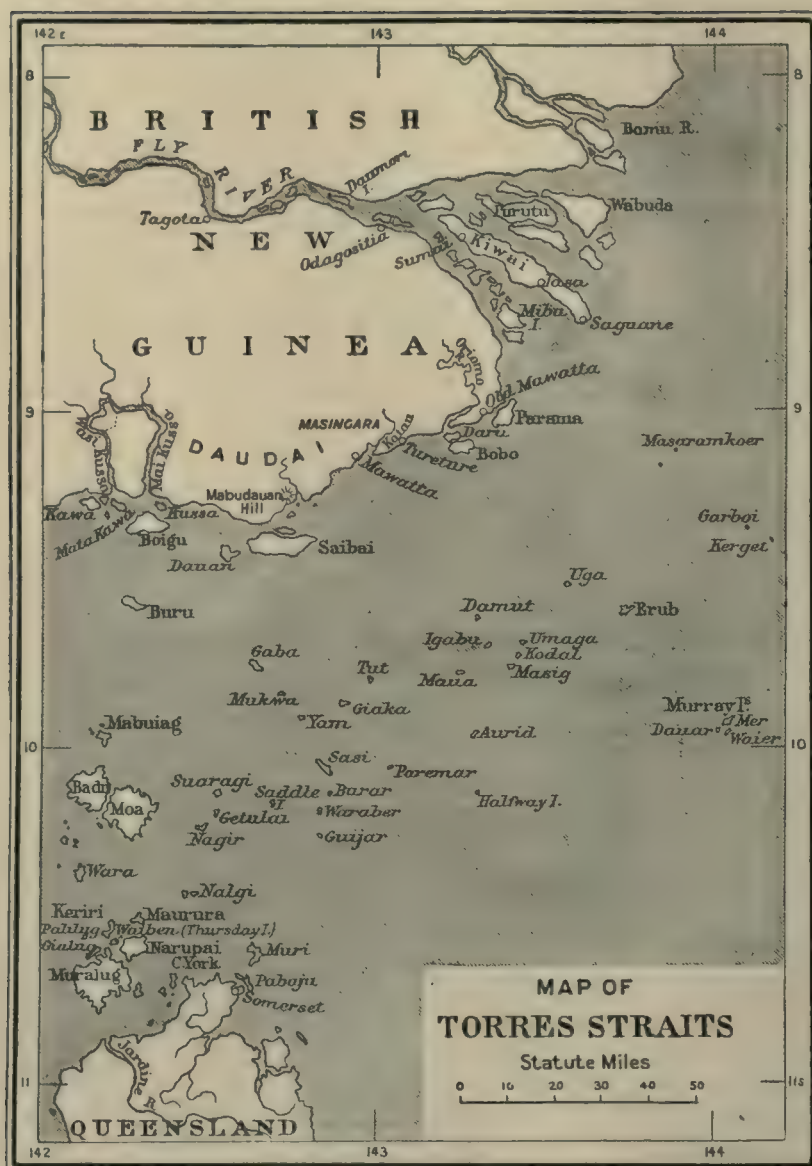
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ERRATA

- p. 26, line 19, for 'south-east' read 'south.'
p. 39, footnote 3, for *Bezam* read *Beizam*.
p. 42, lines 18, 22, for 'Ger' read 'Gèp.'
p. 56, line 17, *Damid* or *Damud*, Mr Bruce spells it either way.
p. 101, line 4 from bottom, for 112 read 118.
p. 143, line 29, for *eros ia* read *erosia*.
p. 153, 1st par., *Nesur atparek* or *atperik*, "petticoat on both sides."
p. 154, line 12, for *baba lam* read *babalam*.



INTRODUCTION.

By A. C. HADDON.

THE Eastern Islanders of Torres Straits inhabit the volcanic islands of Uga (Stephen's Island), Erub (Darnley Island), and the three Murray Islands, Mer, Dauar and Waier. They speak the same language and practically regard themselves as one people, though there does not appear to have been very much communication of late between the Miriam of the Murray Islands and the Erub *le* and Uga *le*. In former times there was occasional communication between the Miriam and the inhabitants of the nearer central islands. Most of the latter are now uninhabited, and it is probably quite impossible to discover anything about their past history.

There are a few persons living on Uga, but they have not been studied. The fine island of Erub is now mainly peopled by natives of various South Sea islands, most of the men having married Erub women. There are still a few unmixed aborigines on the island, but they have become so modified by contact with Europeans and other foreigners that, I believe, very little of their original lore remains. At all events we were not able to investigate them, and it is most likely that their former customs and beliefs will never be recorded. What little is known about these people is due to the visits of Jukes (*Voyage of H.M.S. "Fly,"* 1847, Vol. I. pp. 169—194, 208—210, 244—261), D'Albertis (*New Guinea*, 1881, Vol. I. pp. 236—242), and a few remarks by the Missionaries, W. Wyatt Gill, A. W. Murray, and S. MacFarlane.

The Murray Islands owing to their relative inaccessibility and their comparatively large population offer a better field for research. One or two Europeans and South Sea men lived there at various times before it became the headquarters of the London Missionary Society. Mataika, a Samoan teacher of the L.M.S., crossed over from Erub in 1872 to evangelise the Miriam (p. 265). In 1877 the Rev. Dr S. MacFarlane removed the headquarters of the Mission to Mer, and two years later he established the "Papuan Industrial School and Teachers' Seminary," an institution which had for its

object the teaching and training of young people from various islands of Torres Straits and from the neighbouring coasts of New Guinea. The "Papuan Institute," as it was more generally termed, began with over sixty young men and boys, they were instructed in the English language, and more than twenty were sufficiently trained to become native teachers, most of whom went as evangelists to New Guinea (cf. *Among the Cannibals of New Guinea*, by Rev. S. MacFarlane, LL.D. London, 1888, pp. 81—91). Mrs MacFarlane spent some years on the island teaching the girls. Under the skilful management of Mr Robert Bruce, who had been a yacht-builder of Glasgow, the Industrial School was a great success. Besides building and furnishing houses, a twenty-ton yacht, the "Mary," was built of local timber by the natives under his direction, and the fittings and the necessary smith's work were also done on the spot. The Industrial School ceased operations when Dr MacFarlane left in 1886. The Rev. and Mrs A. E. Hunt arrived in 1887 and left in 1890. Since then the church has been under the sole direction of a Samoan teacher.

I spent five months on Mer in 1888—89, being mainly engaged in zoological investigations, and made many friends among the natives. The ethnological information I then collected was of too fragmentary a nature to be worth publishing as a whole, but I published two folk-tales, "The legend of Malu" [Bomai] and "Nam Zogo" in *Folk-Lore* (Vol. I. 1890, pp. 181, 186), and an account of various ceremonies, including the initiation ceremony and Malu dances of the Bomai-Malu cult in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (Bd. VI. 1893, pp. 131—162). The present volume supersedes the earlier publications. I purposely did not investigate the Miriam with much detail as my friend, the Rev. A. E. Hunt, the resident missionary, had promised me that he would do so. Mr Hunt published a paper on "Ethnographical Notes on the Murray Islands, Torres Straits," in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* (Vol. XXVIII. 1899, pp. 5—18). Those of his observations which we were able to corroborate have been incorporated in this volume, but in some instances he misunderstood what his informants endeavoured to tell him.

Our party reached Mer on May 6, 1898, and we left on September 8 in the same year, but all of us were not on the island during the whole of that period.

At the time of our visit the islanders had been under Mission influence for about twenty-five years; and practically all the adult natives were professed Christians and all the younger ones had been to school. Shortly before the departure of the Hunts, Mr John Bruce was appointed schoolmaster under the auspices of the Queensland Government, and since then has most successfully taught the Miriam children.

It might be urged that owing to missionary and other influences the condition of the Murray Islanders has been so modified that ethnological investigations must have a very uncertain value. An objection of this kind is more specious than real.

Mission influence could scarcely have made a serious impression on the natives till about 1880. I do not know when the last Bomai-Malu ceremony was held, possibly about 1875. Men who were thirty to forty years old then, were alive not only in 1888 but in 1898; and since initiation took place at adolescence, there must have been many men who were conversant with the ceremonies at the time of my two visits. Though this particular custom may have died out many years ago, the memory of it was green. One can never tell to what extent maimed portions of old ceremonies may have persisted long after they have been supposed by missionaries to have been eradicated. Indeed we know that this has occurred in the case of many of the smaller ceremonies of the Miriam, and even now all has not yet quite disappeared.

Usage relating to kinship, inheritance, the regulation of marriage, and other aspects of native social life would not be affected directly by the white man. The change in economic conditions, owing to the presence of foreigners, is by no means so marked in the Murray Islands as it is in the Western Islands. Therefore we feel confident that our accounts describe the original social conditions with a fair degree of accuracy.

Our greatest difficulty was naturally with customs related to magic and religion. Not only had a good deal disappeared from actual practice, but there was a reluctance on the part of the natives to talk about certain subjects, partly because the latter were originally of a secret or sacred character (and the native even now is very reticent about such matters), partly because he has been taught that he ought to be ashamed of the past; not that he really is, but he believes that the white man expects that he should be, and therefore his natural tendency is at first to plead ignorance. Even the profession of Christianity does not make all the difference that one might at first sight think it would. I am under the impression that the most moral and pious heathen are the most likely to be attracted by a higher form of social order and religion. These are just the men that have a strong sense of reticence and of the sacredness of religious customs; in changing their beliefs and customs, their attitude of mind would remain much the same, and they would not be disposed to treat lightly that which had previously meant so much to them. Nor must one overlook the necessity of reticence with regard to secret matters which was learnt in the impressionable age of youth and enforced through the fear of punishment by means of sorcery, or by spiritual or other agencies.

Even with good intentions and a friendly disposition on the part of the native there were many difficulties in the way of getting information which are familiar to those who have had experience in similar investigations. We communicated by means of jargon English, which, owing to the school instruction most of the natives had undergone, was not of so crude a character as is generally the case, and precision was given to the statements of the natives by a copious use of native words and phrases.

We naturally took ordinary precautions to check one informant by another. But in spite of all our efforts this volume would have presented a very different appearance had we not had the ungrudging assistance of Mr John Bruce. For a decade he had lived on the island in intimate association with the people—young and old. Under all conditions of life, from birth to death, in joy, sorrow, or perplexity, one and all appeal to "Jack," and never in vain. Mr Bruce has placed his intimate knowledge of the people entirely at our disposal, both when we were neighbours in Mer and since we returned to England, and on behalf of myself and my colleagues I take this opportunity to thank him heartily for all he has done for us and for science.

I. FOLK-TALES.

By A. C. HADDON.

I HAVE little to add to the remarks I made on pp. 9 and 10 of Volume V. of these Reports. Further experience has confirmed me in the opinion that with ordinary care these tales may be accepted as trustworthy ethnographical documents, and as such they will be dealt with in this Volume.

Altogether sixty-nine titles of folk-tales are presented in these two Volumes, but in reality they represent a larger number of tales, for in some cases, tales that were told by themselves have been connected together, as, for example, in the story of Abob and Kos, where the Gawer and Warip episodes were told independently by some informants, while others strung them together with the other incidents as in the story here given; so too, with the story of Sida and the Malu saga. On the other hand, I have various imperfect narratives that are probably fragments of more connected tales, or which might have become such in process of time. I know that various other tales exist both among the Eastern and Western Islanders, but I hope that those I have collected are sufficiently representative of native thought and expression. I have often retained in the tales the actual phrases of jargon English in which my informants narrated them to me—these are generally indicated by single inverted commas. Every simile or idea I have employed in the tales is a native expression.

The following tales or incidents in tales of the Eastern and Western Islanders are sufficiently alike to prove community of origin:

“Tagai and his Crew” (vi. 3) and the Togai incidents in “The Saga of Kwoiam” (v. 67–70).

“Sida” (vi. 19) and “Sida, the Bestower of Vegetable Food” (v. 28, 29, 32, 36).

“Gelam” (vi. 23) and “Gelam” (v. 38–40).

“How Karom the Lizard stole Fire from Serkar” (vi. 29) and “The Origin of Fire” (v. 17).

“The Coming of Bomai” (vi. 33) and “The Origin-Myth of the Hammer-headed Shark and Crocodile Totems of Yam” (v. 64–66).

“The Coming of Barat” (vi. 40) and “How Bia introduced fishing with the Sucker-fish into the Islands” (v. 44–46).

As a general rule, when there is close similarity, it looks as if the Eastern Islanders had borrowed from the Western. Stories current among both groups of people may

however in some cases be due to a common origin; at present we cannot settle this point, as we have no collections of folk-tales from the Cape York peninsula, or from the neighbouring coast of New Guinea.

Although the main incidents in the "Discovery of the Use of Coco-nuts as Food" (vi. 52) and "The Stranding of the First Coco-nut on Muralug" (v. 103, 104) are similar, the tales may be independent. There are also various incidents in a large number of Eastern and Western tales that bear a general resemblance to one another, but these are merely the result of the two groups of people being in the same stage of culture.

It is worthy of note that in tales of Iruam (p. 6), the Ti Birds (p. 9), and Kultut (p. 11) the girls cooked an *ager* in an earth-oven, *ame*, which food is now rarely eaten. Can it be that these tales date back to a time before the cultivation of yams and sweet-potatoes, when the islanders were merely collectors of food?

If this be granted some of the folk-tales may be classified chronologically as follows:

1. *The Peopling of the Murray Islands.*
Pop and Kod.
2. *The Collecting Stage of Culture.*
Iruam, the Ti Birds, Kultut.
3. *The Introduction of Cultivation.*
Sida, Gelam.
4. *The Introduction of certain Ceremonies connected with Death.*
Aukem and Terer.
5. *The Introduction of the Bomai-Malu Cult.*
The Malu Saga.

LIST OF FOLK-TALES.

Nature Myths: (*Origin of Heavenly Bodies*) 1. Tagai and his Crew. 2. Ilwel, the Evening Star. (*Hills*) 3. Pepker, the Hill-Maker. (*Water-holes*) 4. The Killing of Iruam. 5. The Ti Birds. (*Rocks, Trees and Animals*) 6. Stones that once were Men. 7. Kol. 8. Kultut of the Long Arm. 9. Kiar, who cut his Foot. 10. Meidu. 11. Nageg and Geigi.

Culture Myths: 12. Pop and Kod. 13. Sida. 14. Gelam. 15. Abob and Kos. 16. How Karom the Lizard stole Fire from Serkar. 17. Aukem and Terer.

Religious Myths: 18. The Malu Saga. 19. The Nam Zogo.

Tales about People: 20. Discovery of the Use of Coco-nuts as Food. 21. Kaperkaper, the Cannibal. 22. Mokeis, the Greedy Man.

Comic Tale: 23. Markep and Sarkep.

The following tales were published in Vol. III. in the Miriam Language, with inter-linear and free translations by Mr S. H. Ray: The Story of Nageg (p. 229), The Story of Malo (p. 233), The Story of Meidu (p. 239), The Story of Iruam (p. 240), The Story of Mokeis (p. 242), The Story of Markep and Sarkep (p. 244), The Story of Gelam (p. 248), Tagai (p. 250).

Nature Myths.

1. TAGAI AND HIS CREW.

'One man, Tagai, he got a canoe. Tagai he stop in forehead (the bow or front end of the canoe) and look out and spear fish. Kareg he stop in stern, he mate. Plenty men¹ crew, sit in middle.

'They go over reef; Kareg he pole canoe. Tagai he spear fish. Sun hot on reef, all men thirsty, and steal water in canoe belong captain.

'Tagai say, "Why you no pole canoe good? I no spear fish." By-and-by he say, "Where water-bamboo?" He take bamboo and shake it; it empty; he say, "Who drink water?"

'Men no talk.

'Tagai get wild. He get one rope, *gogob*², and make fast round neck of six men and chuck into sea. He put name to them, "All you fellow 'Usiam.'"

'Tagai take two wooden skewers, *kep*³, and call other men in canoe, and kill plenty, and stick the skewers through their necks and chuck them in the sea, and call them "Seg."

'Kareg he live.

'Tagai tell Kareg, "You stop; you no steal my water, you push canoe all time."

'Man stop in sky all the time.

'Tagai, Kareg, and canoe stop in one place, Usiam stop in another place, and Seg stop in another place.'

Tagai (figs. 1 and 2) is a very large constellation that embraces Scorpio, Lupus, Centaurus, Crux and Corvus, with part of Hydra and one star of Ara. It represents a man, Tagai, standing in the fore part of a canoe (body and tail of Scorpio), brandishing a pronged fishing-spear (Crux) in the left hand, and holding some fruit of the white-berried *Eugenia* in the other uplifted hand (Corvus). Another man, Kareg (Antares, α Scorpio), is in the stern of the canoe. In front of the canoe is the stone anchor (α Aræ) and below its bow is a sucker-fish, *gèp* ($\iota\kappa\lambda\nu$ Scorpii). Behind the canoe is a fishing-reef ($\beta\nu\omega\delta\pi\rho$ etc., Scorpii). Tagai himself is mainly composed of Centaurus and Lupus, his eyes are $\nu\mu$ and his mouth or chin ϕ , two stars $\nu\chi$ represent the depression above the collar bone, η is the navel (unless it is the heart, which one informant said was visible, in which case σ Lupi would be the navel); all these stars are in Centaurus. Tagai's left elbow is ϵ Centauri and his right γ Hydræ, κ Centauri and β Lupi are his testes according to some informants, or his knees according to others, $\delta\epsilon$ Lupi on the former view are his knees. I was informed that by the side of Tagai are a number of small stars which are called collectively *pirsok*, "locusts."

The six men, Usiam, who were tied together, are the Pleiades, and those, Seg, who were skewered, are the stars in alignment in Orion. The Tagai and associated constellations are recognised alike by the Eastern and Western Islanders.

¹ In Pasi's version (Vol. III. p. 250) these are described as "Seg and Usiam, two, two, two, two, two, two."

² A *gogob* is a ring of rope formerly used in fixing the mat sails; "gromet" is the nautical equivalent.

³ A *kep* is a pointed stick which was used to skewer together the mats of which the sails were composed.

This tale is evidently a variant of the adventures of Togai (Tagai) and Koang (Kareg), the maternal uncles of Kwoiam, the hero of Mabuiag, *cf.* Vol. v. pp. 67—69; but future research must determine whether it is an essential part of the Kwoiam cycle, or whether it has been added to it.

Tagai is an important constellation, not only as an indication of the approach of certain seasons, but also for navigation purposes. For example, I was told, "Usiam he *mek* (that is, 'sign' or 'mark') for new yams." "Seg he *mek* next kind of yam." When Usiam is some way from the horizon at sundown, men say, "Close up new yam time," and when it is at the horizon at sunset, "Yam time he come."



FIG. 1. Drawing of the Tagai constellation by Mariget of Mabuiag, reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$.



FIG. 2. Drawing of Tagai and Kareg in their canoe by Gizu of Mabuiag, reduced by $\frac{1}{4}$. In this drawing, the canoe, Kareg and the sucker-fish are represented the wrong way round.

"Tagai he *mek* for turtle season. Two hand he come first; all turtle go to islands to leeward (to the West), and they (the natives) *kaikai* (eat) turtle first. By-and-by face belong Tagai he come up; *Dauar le* (the inhabitants of Dauar and of the southern end of Murray Island) get turtle, and then all the rest of Murray Island.

"Kareg he come last; turtle rotten, meat inside good, skin of neck rotten and stink and eaten by *kuper* (maggots)."

In sailing by night from Erub (Darnley Island) to Mer (Murray Island) they steer for the left hand of Tagai, "right hand he stop outside Mer."

Further information about the constellations recognised by the Torres Straits Islanders will be found in the section on Astronomy by Dr Rivers in Vol. iv.

2. ILWEL, THE EVENING STAR.

Ilwel is the evening star and the wife of the moon, Meb. Once a month they meet and cohabit, then they quarrel and the moon leaves his wife, going further away every night until the quarrel is patched up and they meet again, but only to quarrel once more.

For the magical beating of the Ilwel stone see chapter on Magic.

3. PEPKER, THE HILL-MAKER.

[Told by Debe Wali (26)¹.]

Two old women named Pepker and Ziaino² had a competition to see who could make the larger hill. Ziaino made a small hill (Kebi Dauar) and called out, "You no finish? I finish now." Pepker called out, "I no finish now." Debe Wali ended the tale in these words, "Make him, make him, make him that hill (Au Dauar), he [she] finish, he sing out, 'I finish now!'"

A stone effigy (fig. 3 and pl. VII. fig. 5) represents Pepker sitting down (so it was explained to me), as if making a mat, but she is really making Au Dauar; but oddly enough her hands are behind her back; apparently the shape of the block of vesicular lava, in which she is carved, determined the direction of the arms. It is a roughly carved figure, 300 mm. high, in a crouching position, with the face looking upwards; the clavicles are indicated, but no breasts; the abdomen is prominent; the arms are flexed with the hands opposed to each other behind the back; the legs are bent. The figure is very much worn and the features are almost indistinguishable. The different heights of the hills Au Dauar and Kebi Dauar are seen in pl. I. fig. 1. Au Dauar is 600 feet in height.



FIG. 3. Sketch of Pepker.

Debe Wali also gave me the following information about Pepker, but I cannot make anything of it.

'Pepker he [she] stop at Eupe (Aupe or Igermuger), he want to take water to top of hill. Two fellow [men] Paim and Naurnaur come and sing. Pepker fill up coco-nut water-vessels. Two fellow got *warup* (drum) and sing

"Paimi Naurinauri ikidi ge aupreie."

Paim Naurnaur dig then both lie down.

'Two fellow come to Igermuger, lie down on ground. Pepker take water-vessels, come same place, Pepker got a big basket.'

4. THE KILLING OF IRUAM.

[Compiled from accounts of J. Bruce, Pasi (27), Enoka (18 A), and Mamai (16).]

Deiau, Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber³ were three young women, who belonged to the village of Mei, near Las, on the eastern side of Mer. They had no husbands, and they did everything for themselves.

One evening Deiau was in the house, tidying up the place, and the other two were

¹ The numbers after the names of natives give their places in the Genealogical Tables.

² It is possible this is the same as Ziai neur, pl. V. fig. 3.

³ In Pasi's version (Vol. III. p. 240) they are called Deo or Deu, Tepipi and Tisaber, and I have the latter as Ter-sabersaber in one note.

getting ready their food, *bode* and *ager*¹, to cook in the native oven, at a place called Sager, on the plateau behind Mei. The food was all prepared, and Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber had put it on the hot stones, and they were just covering it up nicely with earth on the top, and thinking what a fine meal it would be when it was cooked, when they saw the moon (Meb), covered all over with croton leaves (*wez*), approaching them, coming up the rising ground on the plateau; and Ter-pipi called out, "Sister! look! it is coming up!"

They saw that the moon was coming to steal their food, so they took it away to another oven, but the moon followed them: they removed it again and again to several different ovens, and still the moon followed them, and they rebuked him for coming to try to steal the food. At last they put it in an oven at Mepau, and when the moon found that he could not get the food, he left the women and went away². When they saw him well away from the place, Ter-pipi said to Ter-seberseber, "Come along, we will go down to see Deiau and get some water."

When they came to Mei, they found Deiau still cleaning up her place, and they asked her to come along with them to Er, to get some water.

So Deiau, Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber took their water-bottles (*ni sor*) with them and went to Er.

When they arrived at Er, they went to a well named Kokaper pat, and first drank some water and then began to fill up their vessels.

Deiau said she did not like the water, as it had been fouled by the men, so she went on to another well at Aupat, in the rocky gully that forms part of Er pat. Deiau filled her vessels at this well and the water made the noise of *bub, bub, bub*, as it gurgled into the vessels. When they were full she was putting in the stoppers when she heard a *bub, bub, bub*, sound coming from the well, and then a man emerged from it, making this noise with his mouth.

He asked Deiau, "What is your name?" She answered, "Deiau. What is yours?" He told her his name was Iruam, and that this water-hole was his home, and he asked Deiau to come into the hole with him and be his wife, but she said that she did not want him³; he tried to catch her, but she picked up her water-bottles and ran away home. The other two sisters had gone home before this without waiting for Deiau.

Deiau ran down Er pat, and Iruam followed, throwing stones at her⁴, and as the tide was well out, Deiau took to the reef and ran there. One of Iruam's stones hit one of Deiau's water-vessels and broke it, and she fell down in her fright and broke the other one.

When Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber reached the place called Wabkek, they looked round and saw Deiau running and Iruam following her; "Hulloa," they cried, "there is

¹ *Bode*=*badi*, an aroid. I have not been able to identify *ager*; it is an aroid, and the swollen edible part, which for the sake of brevity I call a bulb, is more properly a tuberous rhizome. In common with many aroids it probably contains a poisonous latex, which is dispelled by heat: hence the need for cooking. (Pl. VI. fig. 7.)

² "*Le, das ipe ogi*," i.e. "Sister! look there climbs."

³ According to one informant the moon actually did steal the food several times over, putting it in his big basket.

⁴ One informant said, "They two do no good."

⁵ One informant said Iruam took a many-pronged spear, *ubar tut*.

Deiau, and Iruam, too. What a fool Deiau was to leave us and go to drink at another water-hole. We had better hurry home to our place."

They went off quickly and put their water safely away. Then they climbed up a coco-nut tree and cut down the branched stalks (*pesur*, spadix) from which the nuts depend: they tied them together quickly, one for themselves and one for Deiau, and then they hurried off to her assistance.

By this time Deiau, followed by Iruam, had run round the fish weir and had arrived at Mei, and here the sisters met her. They gave her one of the branches and they all attacked Iruam at once, beating him with their *pesur* till he was nearly dead and he fell down on the beach of Las.

While he was lying on his back there, he made water from which was formed the salt-water-hole named Warber¹, and another hole named Goi², and he threw one of his testicles (*waiwai gebò*) into the hole called Warber, and then he turned round and squirted water towards the sea and formed the large lagoon, Keper, on the home reef at Las.

The women went on beating him, so he took shelter in a shell called *nasir*³, and the women took stones and broke the shell. He then took shelter successively in several shells *keret*⁴, *seskíp*⁵, and *asor*⁶, but the women broke them all and beat him. At last he got into a trumpet-shell, *maber*⁷, and crept under the coral for shelter in a kind of cave.

Here the women could not get at him; they could break the coral, but not the shell in which he was hidden⁸, so at last they left him.

Iruam then came out of the shell, which floated away, and his body remained on the reef in the form of a large stone standing up opposite the village of Mei.

The *maber* shell floated round to the village of Korog, where a man called Adaba found it, and placed it on the top of one of the bamboos in his fence, and it is always known as Iruam's shell.

Mr Bruce says Warber and Goi are both family names belonging to Gadodo of Las (14) and Pasi of Giar pit (27). The eldest girl is named Warber, as that water-hole is *narbet*, owing to the fact that Iruam made it first; the second born is named Goi, and no other family except the above may use these names for their daughters. Unfortunately neither of these names appears in the genealogies, probably they are additional names.

Gadodo told Mr Bruce that he and another man named Marau started to dig in the hole called Warber, as they thought that by deepening it they would strike good water. They cleaned it out before beginning to dig, but found that they could not dig down, as Iruam's stone stopped them: they tried to remove it, but it was so large that they could not make it stir.

The two water-holes, Warber and Goi, have the same names as two islands con-

¹ Warber, Warbir, or Waraber.

² These holes are about thirty yards apart, and lie at the back of the houses at the village of Las, and about fifty yards from the beach where Iruam was lying.

³ *Trochus niloticus*.

⁴ *Strombus*.

⁵ *Turbo*.

⁶ *Pterocera lambis*.

⁷ Trumpet-shell, *Megalatractus aruanus* (*Semifusus probosciferus*).

⁸ One informant said the girls broke open the shell and killed Iruam.

nected with the Malu legend, and sung in the *Asusem wed* for Malu men when they die. The men say there is no connection between Warber and Goi and Malu, the names having been introduced in the song merely because they are in the vicinity of the place where the Malu ceremonies were carried on.

At Sager and Mepau, where the women were preparing their food, there are heaps of stones, used for native ovens, at intervals of a few yards apart; these are called *Deiau*, *Ter-sabersaber*, a *Ter-pipira ame baker* (and Ter-pipi's oven stone).

The trumpet shell is a very common decoration on fences, both in the villages and in the gardens. Mr Bruce has frequently tried to find out the reason why it is so universally used, but can get no satisfactory reply; they say it is only a decoration, but he suspects that there is more in it, and that it is a symbol of something or other, beyond being merely Iruam's shell.

Iruam is represented by a stone on the beach at Areb (pl. II. fig. 1); formerly the stone stood upright, but a heavy sea knocked it down.

The stone represented on pl. VI. fig. 2 was given to me as being "Ter-pipi Ter-serberserber," it came from Ulag. It is a rounded wedge-shaped piece of vesicular lava, 257 mm. long and 212 mm. high, rudely carved to represent the head of a fish (?). The intaglio portions are painted red and are mainly outlined with white; the hollow of the mouth is white.

5. THE TI BIRDS.

[Compiled from accounts by J. Bruce and Jimmy Dei (4 B).]

A number of young women, perhaps ten or twenty in number, lived at the foot of the hill, at a water-hole named Lakop, near the village of Zomared on the western side of the island. Although they were spoken of as young-looking girls, they were said to be very old indeed, and they had the power of changing themselves into small birds named *ti*¹.

[The water-hole near which they lived is an excavation about two feet square, with many boulders around it, situated just on the rise of the hill, and prettily shaded with trees and creepers, while the profusion of ferns and undergrowth gave it a seclusion appropriate for the dwelling-place of the young women.]

These young women were in the habit of going out to catch fish and to gather shell-fish on the adjacent reef of Mebgor; their boat was the thick leathery covering that hangs over the coco-nuts on the trees, and when dry falls to the ground. (These spathes (*geru*) are shaped like a small canoe, and the children play with them in the water and pretend that they are small canoes.) Before going into the *geru* the women changed themselves into their bird form.

One day they got ready their food before starting out on their fishing. Their

¹ *Ti* is the Sun bird, *Nectarinia australis*, a small bird about the size of a wren; the colour of the back of the head and body is a dull olive green, the under side of the body is a bright chrome yellow; the throat of the male, *kupi ti* ("dark" *ti*), is a dark metallic violet; that of the female, *noreb ti*, is yellow; the word *noreb* implies that the female is coloured like "the sere, the yellow leaf."

food was *ager*, a large bulb, as big as a man's head (pl. VI. fig. 7), and it has to be roasted before it is eaten, as the flavour when raw is too pungent to be pleasant¹.

The women prepared hot stones wherewith to cook the bulbs, and covered them over with leaves and sand, expecting that when they returned from the reef, the food would be well cooked and all ready for eating.

The women then took their tiny canoes, one each, and jumped into them, each turning at the same time into a little *ti*.

Whilst they were away fishing a very large woman named Dòpeb, who lived all by herself in the village of Korog, came walking along the beach. When she came to the village of Zomared, she turned into the bush for a few yards and came to the place where the girls had prepared their food in the native oven, as she wanted to see what was being cooked. She removed the sand and leaves, and examined the *ager* to see if it were properly cooked, and when she found that it was just nicely done she carried it off to her own place.

When the girls returned from the reef and came to the oven, they saw at once that the food had been stolen, and they were very angry, threatening severe punishments when they should catch the thief. They arranged that on the next day one of their number should stay behind while the rest went to fish, so as to find out who had stolen their food.

So on the following day, when the others, or *kupi ti*, had gone, the girl who was left behind to watch the earth-oven changed into a *noreb ti* and perched on a tree near by. Soon Dòpeb came along, and as before, she removed the *ager* from the oven, and finding it was well cooked, she carried it off with her to Korog. The *noreb ti* who had been watching her from the tree said to herself, "Ah ha, I know you Dòpeb, and will catch you next time," and when the *kupi ti* returned from the reef, she told them who had been stealing their food.

On the following day the food was prepared as usual, and it was decided that half the number of girls should remain to watch and to catch Dòpeb if she should come again, and that the others should go out fishing. So after the others had left in their little canoes, those who remained behind changed into *ti* and perched on the surrounding trees.

Dòpeb again came along: she removed the sand and tapped the *ager* with her fingers to see if it were well cooked, and finding it nicely done, she marched off with it. But when the *ti* saw her carrying it away, they attacked her with branches from which coco-nuts hang on the trees, (*pesur*, spadix of botanists). They beat her with these, and knocked her down, and being very angry with her they swore at her, calling her bad names², and at last after beating her and swearing at her, they killed her.

Soon after, the others returned from their fishing, and were shown the body of Dòpeb, and all rejoiced that they had got rid of her.

They all joined in rolling the body down the beach like a cask, using dry mid-ribs of coco-nut palm fronds as levers, and they threw it into the sea. And still they jibed and swore at the body when it was in the sea, and told Dòpeb to go

¹ The phrase used in describing this to me was, "Too much he fight, when we roast him, he no fight."

² They called her "*Au mune* (Big vagina), *Au neb kosker* (Large anus woman)."

home now to her own place and never again to come stealing their food. The tide was flowing at the time, and Dòpeb's body was washed ashore again at Baur. The *ti* put her back again into the sea, telling her to go home, but the body was again thrown up on the shore at Zaub, and again the *ti* had to go and roll her into the sea, still swearing at her. The body was washed up again at Sebeg, Bòged and Kiam, the *ti* always rolling it back into the water, until it came to Korog, Dòpeb's village. The *ti* then rolled it up the beach and a little way into the bush, and left it, telling Dòpeb she was to remain there for ever and ever, '*niaiem niaiem*.'

The *ti* thought they would like to live at Korog too, so starting from the beach they walked back into the bush until they came to the foot of the hill where they decided to make their abode; but they found that there was too much noise from the sea breaking over the home-reef, and making a booming and a swishing noise as it struck the beach, so they decided to leave and to go and look for a quieter spot, for they could not bear the noise of the sea breaking on the sand-beach. They came on to Sebeg, and began to excavate a passage in the ground from the beach to the foot of the hill and a little way up the hill-side, where they thought they would reside. But there also they found the noise from the sea was too loud; it disturbed them so much that they decided to leave Sebeg and find a quieter place. So they journeyed to Keweid, and again excavated a passage from the beach up to the hill-side, but found they could not live there either owing to the noise of the sea rolling on the beach. So finally they returned to their old home at Lakop¹.

They then held a consultation among themselves and agreed they would change into mosquitos, *lag*, instead of into birds, but that one of their number should still retain the form of a *ti*. They were all still to live at the water-hole, but the *ti* was to be the caretaker of the water and watch that no one stole any of it.

Lakop became *lag zogo ged*, that is, the place of the mosquito *zogo*; the water-hole is sheltered by the luxuriant growth of plants and creepers and is infested by mosquitos during the north-west monsoon; perhaps in former times when it was used as a well they were even more abundant.

The water-courses and gullies on the hill-side and along the alluvial flat to the sea are considered to be the work of the *ti*, made by them whilst looking for their new home, and there is a water-course at each of the places where they wanted to settle.

The *ti* were all virgins, and although ages old they always retained their youthful appearance, looking like young maidens; their origin is not known.

Dòpeb was a very big woman and had no husband nor friend, but managed to do everything for herself without the assistance of any man; her origin is not known.

The little *ti* bird is supposed to be endowed with the faculty of foretelling events, such as when a boat is about to arrive at the island, and how many persons are coming.

The *ti* legend is the basis of the *Lag zogo*, and the *zogo le* officiating for the time being, carried on his ceremonies at Lakop.

¹ The reason the *ti* made their home near Zomared was that though the home-reef opposite the village is much narrower than elsewhere, it is protected by an outer reef which partially breaks the surf, consequently the sea makes but little noise breaking on the beach at Zomared.

6. STONES THAT ONCE WERE MEN.

[Told by Wanu (15 A).]

Three men, Weriziau, Muir and Wemer, cut down a tree in the bush, and made it into a canoe which they dragged down the creek Nagiz that runs from Gazir to Las, and across the sand-beach, and launched it in the sea. Wemer remained at a stone fence on the reef, Weriziau stopped at a stone fence on the reef off Gazir and Muir stayed at the stone fence on Wabkek reef. Another man, named Ugeir, took the canoe and went to Openor, the great reef to windward, there the canoe was capsized and he stopped there.

This tale accounts for rocks or stones on various reefs; there are other examples of the metamorphosis of reputed human beings into stones, animals or plants, besides those mentioned in the folk-tales; reference may be given to the account of the origin of the *Nauareb zogo*.

7. KOL.

"Kol came from Zaub to Er. Plenty men came with him."

This is an example of several short and apparently pointless tales that were told to me by Enoka (18 A) and others. They all referred to the districts in which my informants severally lived.

There were two stones called *Kol*, one at Zaub and the other at Er. Once a year these stones were supposed to roll across the island by themselves (so I was informed) and exchange places. Nothing further could be discovered about them.

Enoka gave Mr Ray the following in Miriam:

Erpariklare e atrumdare Erge. Wiaba terpeiriklare Zaubge atrumdare. Wiaba
(They) push away it roll down at Er. They push it back at Zaub roll down. They
erpariklare Erge atrumdare. Wiaba erpariklare Zaubge atrumdare. Wiaba
push it away at Er roll down. They push it away at Zaub roll down. They
erpariklare Zaubge atrumdare. Wiaba erpariklare Zaubge. E emrilu niaiem.
push it away at Zaub roll down. They push it away at Zaub. It stayed for ever.

The Zaub *Kol* (pl. VI. fig. 1) is a block of vesicular lava of irregular shape, 206 mm. by 200 mm., very rudely carved, and having the appearance of a human head with very prominent eyes.

The Er *Kol* is a headless stone perched on a heap of stones on the sand-beach at Er, the other stones are "the men who brought him," one of them is a granitic boulder, all the rest are of local rock.

8. KULTUT OF THE LONG ARM.

[Told by Mamai (16).]

Kultut¹ had a very long arm and lived by the beach at Wedwed close by Er. A number of girls made an earth-oven (*ame*) to cook a large *ager* (cf. p. 6), then

¹ Kultut in Pasi's MS.

they went in four canoes to fish on the reef. Kultut came out of his house and stretched out his long arm and took the *ager* out of the oven and ate it all up.

The girls came back to the shore and saw that their earth-oven was empty. They exclaimed, "Ulloa! who man take him *ame*? Wa! wa!"

The next day the girls made another earth-oven, but the master of the canoe

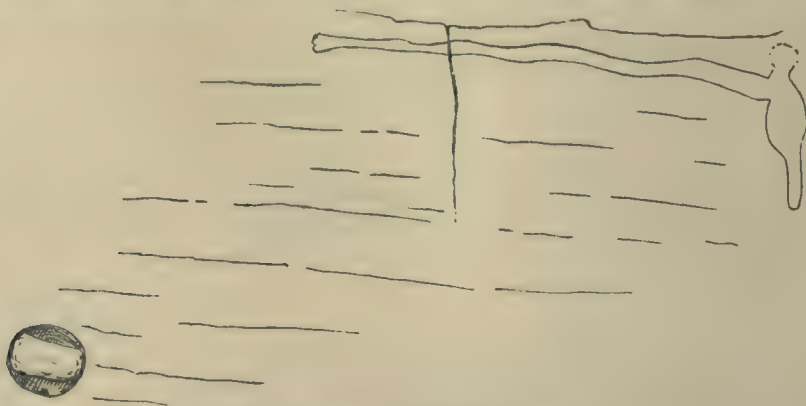


FIG. 4. Sketch of Kultut to scale.

told a girl to stop and see what happened. The girls went in the canoe [only one canoe was mentioned at this time]. The girl who remained behind hid in the bush and watched. Kultut came, put out his arm, took the *ager* out of the oven, and ate it all up.

The girls came ashore and the watcher told the others that Kultut had stolen the food.

Five girls were told off to stop behind on the next day, and Kultut came as usual to steal their food. They came out of hiding and said to him, "Hi! why do you steal our food?" ("What matter you fellow steal *kaikai*?"). They took some *misor* shells and cut off his arm at the elbow.

On the shelving beach of volcanic ash at Er is the faint outline of a man (fig. 4) with an arm 5.588 m. (18 ft. 4 in.) in length; 4.650 m. (15 ft. 3 in.) off, about S.S.W., is a rounded shallow depression 915 by 835 mm. (3 ft. by 2 ft. 9 in.) containing a large oblong block of lava; this is the earth-oven, *ame*, with the *ager*. The fissure on the slab of rock is stated to have been caused by the five girls. I think the outline of Kultut is partly natural and partly worked over.

Kultut is also represented on a stone top (fig. 5) painted in red and blue, and wearing a feather head-dress. Near his hand is the *ame*. A red line runs round the periphery of the disc.



FIG. 5. Tracing of a top in the Cambridge Museum, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

9. KIAR, WHO CUT HIS FOOT.

[Told by Pasi (27).]

A man named Kiar, who lived on Dauar, had one day collected a large number of shell-fish on the reef and made a heap of them, when accidentally he stepped on them and cut his foot very badly. Some men carried him to the shore at Bazir where there were some low cliffs, and the blood spurted out from Kiar's foot and sprinkled the rock. The men then carried him to a small sand-beach where they made a shelter of posts and coco-nut leaves, 'he get all right a little bit.' Kiar said to the men, "More better you take me to Ulag, north-east wind (*naiger*) he come here all the time." So they took Kiar to Ulag on the far side of Mer and he remained there.

This tale was told to me by Pasi to account for patches of a deep red colour on the rocks at Bazir on the coast of Kebi Dauar. The red patches, which as Pasi said, "you can't rub it off," are a tachylitic edge of the basic volcanic rock which is undergoing decomposition with the separation of hæmatite.

10. MEIDU.

[Compiled from accounts by J. Bruce and Pasi (27).]

Meidu was an old woman who had neither husband nor children, she lived at Teri¹, a very small cove on the eastern side of Dauar, where the sand is blackish in colour and not white, as it is everywhere else.

One day she was tidying up her place and throwing the rubbish below high-water mark. When she had finished she looked up and saw four young men, Ab, Wid, Mònan and Zifar. She sent them off to their gardens to wrap up their bunches of bananas with leaves (*kaba sopsop*). After they had gone away, as was her wont, she went into the sea to wash herself and to kill the fleas in her petticoat. When she returned she changed her wet petticoat for a dry one and called to four girls, Aiu, Baisò, Israged and Eupe, to come to her as she thought they were in the bush with the young men. The girls did not want to come, so they stayed where they were. Meidu got angry and called them again, saying: "You come and stay with me. What are you doing there? If you do not come you will be red or bloody²."

When Meidu found the girls did not come to her, she lay down on the sand-beach below high-water mark, as the tide was out, to sleep in the sun; it was now about mid-day and was very hot. Meidu was sleeping with her head towards the shore, and when the tide came in it first reached her foot and she drew it up, but she did not awaken. The rising tide reached her leg and she drew it up, but she did not awaken. The tide then reached her hips and she drew up her legs close to her body, but she did not awaken. Next a big sea swamped her and tossed her legs about from one side to the other, but she did not awaken, she was so very sleepy. The tide kept rising and tossed and rolled her body about until it floated her away,

¹ Also pronounced Ter or Teir.

² "*Wa tabakeaure ese wa nole wa mammam*," lit. "You come, suppose you not, you bloody," or as Pasi put it, "I think you got sickness, I think you got blood inside."

still asleep, past the west side of the island beyond Giar pit, and left her stranded high and dry on Kameri reef. Meidu still slept lying at full length upon the reef, till, about sundown, the waves bumped her against a rock, this awakened her, and she looked round her thinking she was still on Dauar; but when she sat up and saw Mer and Dauar facing her to the east, she began to get afraid that she would be carried further west to some of the islands where she knew there was a great scarcity of food.

She then stood up and addressed the two islands thus: "*Mer, Dauar, wa tidi-deoram,*" i.e. "Mer, Dauar, stay ye afar." Next, addressing the people on the two islands, she said: "*Dibadiba tege, lem waewadawa, ki waesameiwa,*" i.e. "a pigeon on the doorway, sun die away, night grows dark¹." (This is called *Meidura mer* or "Meidu's talk.") Then addressing them in the usual form of language she said: "*Miriam a Dauar le wa ditimeda lewer eroawem kebi gerger a kige wesemeua,*" i.e. "Miriam and Dauar men you begin food to eat small daylight and at night (are) finishing," meaning that the Murray islanders have abundance of food and are continually eating from sunrise to sunset.

[One of my versions reads thus: She got up and looking around her said, "Where is my place?" When she looked at Dauar and Mer she cried, "Oh! I think I am going to another island. Ah! you people on Dauar and Mer, you have plenty of food to eat from the rising to the setting of the sun; that is not the case in the other islands, and the island whither I go has not abundant fruit like Dauar and Mer. I can't swim back to Dauar"; and she sang.]

The night tide rose and bore Meidu away past many islands, but on none of them did she land until she was washed up on the beach of Mibu (pronounced Moibu or Maibu by the Miriam) at the mouth of the Fly River.

A man named Waseau picked up Meidu from the beach, and she was immediately changed into a nut about the size of an areca nut, which straightway sprouted and grew into a *meidu* tree that bore plenty of nuts².

The four young men came down the hill of Dauar with some bananas for Meidu. They looked around, but could not find her, so they thought the tide had carried her away.

In consequence of their disobedience in not answering Meidu and coming to her when she called them, the four girls were changed into the four adjacent garden lands on Dauar which bear the same names; the soil on these four particular places is of a bright reddish chocolate colour which is due to the girls' blood.

Ab and Wid were transformed into blue fish and Mōnan and Zirar into lizards, all of which are still known by their respective names. 'The lizards remain in the bush for ever and ever, and the fish in the sea.'

The *meidu* tree (*Nipa fruticans*) grows close to high-water mark along the coast of the west end of British New Guinea³. It bears a bunch of fruit similar in shape to that of the Pandanus (to which it is closely allied), but it has a red colour; it is not an

¹ Cf. Vol. III. p. 239.

² Another version is: "She changed herself into a tree called the *meidu* tree," and no mention is made of a man.

³ It is interesting to read in D'Albertis, *New Guinea*, Vol. II. p. 145, concerning the very island on which Meidu was stranded, "Mibu became a real prison...surrounded on all sides by nipa."

article of food, though, as it is pungent, the New Guinea people chew it like the areca (betel) nut. The fruit is found washed up on the beaches of Mer and Dauar in the north-west monsoon. When *meidu* trees, carried away by the floods of the Fly river, drift down to the Murray Islands during this season, the Miriam say, "Ah! there is Meidu come again to have a look at Mer and Dauar."

A long broken stone, near high-water mark, on the beach at Teri represents Meidu; formerly it was one stone, but the action of the weather and sea split it into two portions. As Meidu took root in New Guinea, the natives cannot give an explanation as to how she was changed into the stone on Dauar (pl. II. fig. 3).

The *meidu* or *sab zogo* is described in the section on Taboo.

We obtained a stone top, surrounded with blue, white and blue bands, with a figure



FIG. 6. Tracing of a top in the Cambridge Museum, $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

in the middle, apparently decorated with a feather head-dress (fig. 6). In front of the person is written the word Meidu, but there is nothing else to suggest any connection with the tale.

11. NAGEG AND GEIGI.

[Compiled from accounts by Pasi (27), Debe Wali (26) and Kriba (29).]

Nageg lived all by herself at Ne in Waier. One day she went into the bush to defecate, and came back and went again a second time; when she went a third time she was delivered of Geigi.

When Geigi was about six years old his mother made a small bow and some arrows for him to play with, and he took them down to the beach and began to shoot at fish. First he struck a small fish named *bozar*, and he called out to ask his mother if it was good to eat, and she said, "Yes." Then he shot at another named *gas*¹, and he was told that it also was good to eat. Then he shot a *umen*, a fish like an eel that lives under the stones, and the third time his mother told him that it was good to eat.

When he was a few years older, he asked his mother to make him a spear, and she made him one. He went on to the reef and speared some gar-fish (*paris*, Belone)

¹ It was described as a small fish that goes inside a shell or under a stone, but it always goes in tail first, so that it can see out. Elsewhere we have *gas* as the hopping-fish, *Periophthalmus*; but these two accounts hardly tally.

and then he went round Gerger pit, laying his fish down on the rocks as he caught them, and came back to his mother's place, picking up the fish as he came along. He gave them to his mother, who cooked them and they ate them. This he did for three successive days.

He started out on another day to spear gar-fish, and when he had got round as far as Egreserer on the west side of the island, opposite Dauar, he saw an old man with a big belly, named Iriam Moris¹, sitting down at his place Teg in Dauar.

He thought to himself, "I will go and fool that old man." So he laid down his spear and climbed up a coco-nut palm and took the sprouting fronds, *u kupi*, and made a wreath for his head² and fastened a band of it round his wrists and ankles, and a belt round his waist. He dived into the sea and immediately turned into a king-fish (*geigi*, *Cybium commersoni*) and swam in deep water across to Dauar, where there was a shoal of *tup*: he swam in amongst them and made them all jump and dart away in front of him.

The old man saw the rush of *tup* and got up and went for his fish-scoop, *weres*: he caught a quantity of *tup*³ and believed that it was a king-fish that was chasing them into the beach. Geigi swam back to Waier and resumed his human form: he picked up his spear and fish and went home again. His mother asked him, "Where have you been?" He said, "I went to spear gar-fish," but she did not know that he had been to Dauar.

The next morning he did the same things over again⁴, and the old man came out with his large *weres*, but as he was scooping up the fish, he saw Geigi's feet, and the soles were white, so he said to himself, "Ah! I can see you all right, you are not a fish, you are a man, I can see your legs: you tried to make a fool of me, the next time you come I will catch you."

Geigi returned home and the same conversation took place as on the previous day.

Next morning he went over to Dauar again⁴, after he had decked himself out with the coco-nut fronds, and he rushed in among the *tup*; the old man came out with a very big *weres* and looked out very carefully for Geigi, and he managed to scoop him up along with the *tup*, and carried them all along to where there was lying the broken side of an old canoe, *pau*, and he poured them out into it.

Soge was an old woman who lived on Kebi Dauar, and Iriam Moris called out to her to come with her children and bring lighted firewood, *ur*, a saucepan shell, *ezer*, and three stones, *irmad*, to support the shell, also some pandanus leaves, *abal*, in which to wrap the fish, while they were being roasted.

The old woman came down the hill with the things he wanted, and she brought her small boys with her. One small boy, when he saw what he thought was a big fish lying in the canoe bottom (for Geigi was fooling and making a flapping noise like a fish that has just been caught), began to poke Geigi in the eye and rubbed the eye with his finger⁵. The old man saw him and told him to stop and spoke angrily to him. So the

¹ Pasi calls him Iriemuris and Jimmy Rice calls him Iriam Moris in Mr Ray's MSS. Cf. Vol. III. p. 230.

² In more than one account it is stated that Geigi made "eyes," *irkep*; this must mean that he twisted the leaves into rings to represent the *gaigaidan*, the eye of the *gaigai*, or king-fish, of the Western people. Vol. v. p. 249.

³ Although my informants said he caught *tup*, the story implies that Geigi really frightened the fish away.

⁴ In the narrative all the details of the previous day were repeated.

⁵ This incident is represented on a stone spinning top, pl. VI. fig. 3.

boy said to his mother, "This old man talk to us, very good we go up the hill to our own place and leave him." The mother had heard the old man speak to her boy, so she said, "All right, we go," and they all went home and left him.

Iriam Moris had enough *tup* to fill the shell four times, and when they were cooked, he capsize^d them on to a banana leaf. Then he cut Geigi across into three pieces, first he boiled the head, then the middle of the body, lastly the tail end, and finally he placed the pieces on a banana leaf.

Then Iriam Moris, of the big belly, ate up each of the four heaps of *tup*, the three portions of Geigi¹; and, still being unsatisfied, he smashed up the large *weres* and ate it², he broke up the poles, *werir*, that are used in catching the *tup* and ate them, he took the firewood and embers and ate them, he collected the ashes and ate them, and he even swallowed the three *irmad*. He ate so much that he could not walk about, and he lay on the sand-beach like a stone. 'He say, "I feel good now."'

Geigi's mother waited and wondered why her son did not come home. She slept that night and the next morning she started out to look for him. As she went round Gerger pit she called out, "Geigi, my boy, where are you? You did not come home yesterday, come to me." She kept on crying out to him as she went along, and when she came opposite to Dauar, she called out, "Geigi, my boy, where are you? I think you must be inside the belly of Iriam Moris."

A little further along, she saw Geigi's fish-spear. At the base of the sandspit of Waier she saw Geigi's footprints. Then she came across the pieces of coco-nut fronds lying on the ground, which Geigi had left when he decorated himself, "Ah!" she said, "What is this?"

The tide was out so she crossed over to Dauar and when she was half-way between the islands she stopped and stood in the water and cried out, "Geigi, my son, where have you been? I did not see you yesterday. I think you must be inside that old man." At the sandspit of Dauar, she cried out as before. When she came to Teg, she saw Iriam Moris lying down³, and said to him, "Have you seen my boy, my son?" The old man said, "Yes, I saw your boy, I think he is playing over at Eg. You go and look at those boys." 'He gammon.'

Nageg went to Eg, and saw a number of boys at play and asked them if they had seen her boy Geigi. They said, "No, your boy is not here, we don't know where he is."

The mother turned back to Teg, and on her way she found some of Geigi's hair and saw bloodstains, and then she was sure that the big man Iriam Moris had killed Geigi. She took a louse out of her hair⁴ and it told her what had happened. Nageg spoke to Iriam Moris, but he did not speak nor move.

So she went up to him and thrust the stave, *bager*, which she carried, right through his body so that it came out on the other side, and she took a big stone and

¹ The only other record of cannibalism in the folk-tales occurs in the story of Kaperkaper (p. 53).

² This incident is also represented on a stone spinning top, pl. VI. fig. 3.

³ 'That old man he no move, too much ballast in his belly.'

⁴ In my notes I have "her hair," but it is probable that the louse was on Geigi's hair, which she picked up; for other examples of this form of divination cf. Vol. v. pp. 19, 20, 36. Debe Wali said Nageg was informed by a blue fly, *abo*.

hit him on the head with it so that he died, and with her stone knife she ripped him open and found the bones of Geigi.

She took all the bones out and laid them on the ground, and placed the skull, the ribs, the arms and the legs, so as to make up the skeleton of him, then she went into the bush, and collected some green tree-ants¹, *soni*, in their nest of leaves. She took the nest, *soni meta*, and laid it on Geigi's skull², and standing at the head, she made a jump to the feet and then back again to the head, and then back again to the feet, and as she jumped the ants ran into the bones, and ran along from the head to the feet, and after the third jump Geigi came to life again and stood up all right. His mother asked him how he came to be eaten by the big man, and he told her that he had been fooling him and had been caught.

They started on their way home to Waier, and Nageg began to scold her son, and when they came to the strait between Waier and Dauar, she told him to go away for ever and live "in the deep water," *karemgé*, and if ever any man tried to catch him with a hook and line, he was to break the hook when he got it into his mouth, and cut the line, and if anyone tried to spear him, he was to break the spear.

Geigi said, "All right Mother, I go," and then he said, "Very good you go and live in holes in the reef and if any man tries to shoot you with bow and arrows you break the arrow, and if anyone tries to catch you by the body, you cut his hands with the bone on your head and the bone on your breast, *o-seker*, and if he tries to catch you by the tail, scratch his hands."

Geigi then dived into the deep water and Nageg stood watching the ripple, *ipu*, of the water as he went away. She then went under a stone on the reef, head first, and made her home amongst the stones of the reef.

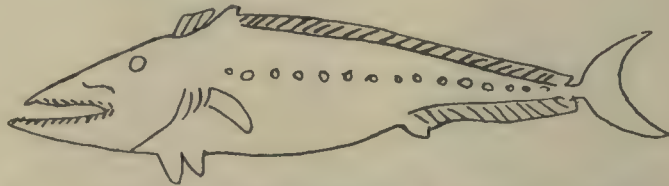


FIG. 7. Native drawing of a king-fish, *geigi* (*Cybium commersoni*).

There are several relics of the three characters of this tale in the islands of Waier and Dauar. In the bay Ne, of Waier, about the centre of the sand-beach and near the fallen rock Korsor is a smooth slab of rock imbedded in the sand: this is the mat Nageg was making when Geigi disappeared.

Geigi's fish-spear is still to be seen lying on the beach of Waier, it was once one long isolated slab of the ordinary volcanic ash of the island but it is now broken. Pl. I. fig. 3.

A slightly convex slab of rock by the sand-beach at Teg on Dauar is pointed out as Iriam Moris, or rather as his "big belly."

Geigi is the king-fish (*Cybium commersoni*) (fig. 7) that swims rapidly in deep water; it is one of the very large pelagic mackerels and has such powerful jaws that

¹ *Formica viridis*.

² Cf. the similar incident in the tale of Kaperkaper, the Cannibal (p. 53).

it cuts through an ordinary fish-line, consequently fishermen lash a strong fish-hook on to a length of strong wire which can withstand the biting of the fish.

Nageg is the brightly coloured trigger-fish (*Monacanthus*) that lives in crevices in the coral rock. In addition to a dorsal and a ventral spine there is a row of small spines on each side of the base of the tail. The fish goes head first into a hole, and it is very difficult to pull it out, as it erects the dorsal and ventral spines and the thorns on the tail scarify the hand.

We obtained a stone top in Mer, now in the Cambridge collection (fig. 8) on the disc of which is written Nageg. It represents a woman, with a European skirt, holding in her hand what is probably a strip of leaf for mat making. Behind her are three dots, probably the *irmad*, or stones to support the shell saucepan, and a seven rayed star, possibly representing the fire. In front of her feet lie a basket with a handle, and two coco-nut water vessels, connected by a handle. Above is the mat she was making.

Geigi and Nageg are represented in string figures, *kamut*, cf. Vol. iv.



FIG. 8. Tracing of a top in the Cambridge Museum, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

Culture Myths.

12. POP AND KOD.

[Bruce, MS.]

Pop and Kod came from the Fly River district of New Guinea to Zaub on Mer, they did not stay there long, but went across the island to Er, where they lived in a coral tree (*Erythrina*). They made a song, *samena* or *wed*, in the tree, after which they came down and had connection on the ground; this was the first secret, *bagem*.

The Er people claim Pop and Kod as the original settlers of Mer, but other groups do not accept this. When people hear an old man singing and crooning, they say, "Ah! he is *samena*," or singing of the time when he was a young man. Keeping anything secret, such as having connection, is called *bagem*.

The *keber* of the *Pop le-op* is described in the section on Funeral Ceremonies.

13. SIDA.

[Compiled from accounts by S. MacFarlane, A. E. Hunt, R. Bruce, J. Bruce, Mabo (14 A) and Mamai (16).]

Sida, or Said, came from Daudai in New Guinea alone in a canoe to the Murray Islands. First he landed at Dauar, where he spent one day, and before leaving he planted a screw pine, *kapeler*. Thence he went to Umar, the westerly point of Mer.

On landing at Umar, Sida was met by his friend Kobai who lived there. Kobai

told him that a pretty girl named Pekari lived on the other side of the island at the village of Ulag, or Was, so they started off to see the girl, going round by the south end of the island.

When they came to the village of Terker, Sida told Kobai to wait while he planted something. He went up the hill and, after he had connection with a woman named Su, he planted a banana sucker, *orwar*.

They made a fresh start and reached the village of Eger, where Sida saw a young girl named Paiizap, or Paizaiza, to whom he took a fancy. He said to Kobai, "You stop here, I want this girl," and before he rejoined Kobai, he went up on to the hill and planted some banana trees. Two other people lived at Eger, Maimri, a man who was so ill that he could only sit down, and a woman named Sokoli who took care of Maimri and fetched food and water for him. These two talked together. When Sida came along he saw Sokoli and 'they did no good.' Sida went off and Sokoli remained behind¹.

Sida and Kobai proceeded to the village of Warwe, where a young virgin named Zabaker lived with her father Soroi. Sida had intercourse with her and as a result the blood flowed from her in great quantity; then he erected a shrine and *u zogo* at this spot (pl. IV. fig. 3)², he also planted a *kapeler*³ to commemorate the event.

On arriving at Areb a girl named Peigu⁴ took Sida's fancy, and later he planted a screw-pine. Then he told Kobai he had the stomach-ache, and asked him to wait for him while he went into the bush. Sida went to a small hill named Bed and there passed so many bivalve shells (*kaip sorsor*)⁵ that they formed a very large heap, and to this day these shells are plentiful upon the adjacent home-reef. Sida also planted a screw-pine.

After passing through Las and Mei they went towards Ulag; on reaching Lewag pit they found a large number of highly decorated young men dancing⁶ in order to show themselves off before the beautiful Pekari, who lived there. No other girl could vie with Pekari in good looks, and every young man thought to himself, "Ah! that is my woman"; but Pekari would have none of them.

¹ Sokoli is an ovoid stone in a cleft in the lava stream on the beach at Eger. Close by is a heap of lava boulders underneath a pandanus tree on the sand-beach; this is the seated Maimri, the two low ridges of rock jutting on to the beach are his legs.

² The somewhat pyramidal stone of black lava on the top of the cairn in the illustration is Zabaker. The convex base rests on a basin-shaped piece of granite rock. Women and *nog le* (i.e. strangers or outsiders) are informed by the Warwe *zogo le* that the latter is the canoe in which she came from New Guinea—indeed, I was at first told that this was the case; but the *gumik nei* (secret name) of the stone is *Zubakera mammam baker* ("the blood-stone of Zabaker"). This stone marks the spot where the connection took place, and on the left, the stone with two ridges indicates the distance to which the blood flowed; it looks as if the latter stone was the torso of an ancient female figure. According to Mr Bruce, Warwe is one of the many places where Sida erected *u zogo*; but Lewag is the chief *u zogo ged*. Gauul (Warwe, 16 c) and Mamai (Warwe, 16) are the *zogo le*. Mamai first told me the Zabaker incident.

³ Mr J. Bruce spells this *kapelar*, and calls it a "tree fern."

⁴ Peigu is now a stone on the reef hard by.

⁵ These shells are used by the women for scraping out the kernel of coco-nuts and for scraping roasted yams and other food.

⁶ One informant said six men danced the *kamosar beizam* dance at Lewag pit to attract Pekari's notice; the *kamosar* is a black dog-fish (Vol. v. p. 44).

Pekari was behind the fence at Ulag with a number of young and old women preparing food for the dancers, and ever and again they looked at the young men through the crevices. A small girl, who was looking at the dancers, saw the two men come round Lewag pit, and she called out to Pekari, "Kobai is there with another man." She did not know Sida, as he came from New Guinea. Perperi, the girl friend of Pekari, went out to see the visitors and when she returned she said to Pekari, "That is Sida." Pekari said, "I want to look too," so she threw down the food she was preparing and went outside the fence to have a good look at Sida, and she immediately fell in love with him. Sida had sat down to watch the dancing, and by this time it was getting near sundown. Pekari told the young girl to go to Sida and inform him she liked him very much and that she wanted him¹. The girl told Sida.

That night Sida went to Pekari and slept with her on the beach; when he wanted to have connection with her he placed her head towards the sea, but Pekari said, "No, you must put my head towards the bush as that is my land, and it is of the very best." So he turned her towards the land, and while in the act of intercourse he withdrew his member and the semen was spilt on the ground, and as a result numbers of coco-nut palms sprung up. All the people were asleep at the time, and when they awakened in the morning they noticed a peculiar sound they had not previously heard, and they were afraid—it was the rustling by the wind of the coco-nut palm leaves. When they went outside they were astonished to see all the tall coco-nut palms, which already were bearing nuts. They then said, "Ah! coco-nut there!"

Sida left Ulag early that morning and proceeded on his way round the island. After he had passed Akup, he met two lads named Abob and Kos, who were catching the small *tup* fish in a conical basket. Having heard a good report of their mother Kudar, Sida determined to visit her, and wishing to have the way clear he spoke to Abob and Kos and told them to go further round to the east, as he had seen large shoals of *tup* on a fine sandy patch, for just then the lads were diving on stony ground. They at once started off and Sida made his way to their mother's house, which was close by, and saw Kudar sitting beside her fence. Sida made overtures which were rejected, so he took a bone dagger, *sok*², out of his basket and stabbed her in the neck; then he picked her up and put her in his basket.

In the meantime Abob and Kos had been looking for the shoal of *tup*, but could not find it. They then said to each other, "That fellow Sida has made a fool of us, let us go back quickly as he may harm our mother." They threw down their fishing gear and hurried off. When they came to their place they could not find Kudar, so they looked around and, seeing Sida's footprints, hurried after him.

A rat had previously made a hole in Sida's basket, and, when Sida had got as far as Wed, Kudar in looking through it saw her two boys coming and she said to Sida,

¹ Instances of advances on the part of the girls seem to have been more common among the Western than among the Eastern Islanders; indeed it was customary for the Western maidens to propose marriage to the men, Vol. v. p. 222.

² This is a sharp-pointed instrument made out of the leg-bone of a cassowary, and is a common weapon in New Guinea.

"My two sons are coming and will catch you and kill you for what you have done to me." Sida looked round and saw them coming, he then took some feathers of the frigate bird, *waumer*, from his basket and stuck them in his stern making a tail of them and flew up a little way just like a frigate bird. When the sons came up they had sticks, *kus bager*, in their hands and struck at him. Sida kept going higher and higher out of their reach, he then flew very high and looked round for New Guinea and saw his own place there. Sida flung Kudar out of his basket and she was drowned in the sea, the place where she fell becoming the Aum reef.

Sida then flew round to the east end of the island to a sand-bank called Werer, or "The Hungry," because no turtle or turtle eggs are to be obtained there, as it is covered at high tide. He there planted *wauri* shells¹, then he flew to the north to Kerget sand-bank and planted some more *wauri* shells. He then flew off to Mazeb kaur (Bramble Cay) and planted more *wauri* shells. Finally he flew off to New Guinea and never came back again to Murray Island.

In Volume v. I gave three versions of this tale (pp. 28, 31, 35), which deal with Sida's adventures in New Guinea and in the Western Islands, and only incidentally refer to his experiences in Murray Island. The present version completes all the information I have been able to gather respecting this culture-hero. In the Eastern as well as in the Western Islands, Sida was regarded as a benefactor: he instructed people in language (v. p. 31), he stocked reefs with the valuable cone-shell, and notably he introduced plants useful to man. The association in the native mind of the sexual act with agricultural fertility has previously been mentioned (v. p. 347).

Sida is reputed to have been the first who brought the coco-nut, banana and screw-pine; indeed he had a basket full of different kinds of food plants, amongst others the sago palm, but this he planted on Erub. The people think if Abob and Kos had only managed to kill Sida they would have had many more kinds of plants from his basket. In the account of the Sewereat *u zogo* it will be seen that there is some uncertainty in the mind of the natives whether the *u zogo* (coco-nut shrines) were founded by Sida or by Abob and Kos.

One informant said Sida was a giant and when one of his feet was in one village the other foot was in a village a quarter of a mile away; his height was more doubtful, he might have been as tall as a coco-nut palm, or not higher than a house; his footprints are to be seen impressed in the rocks at Mergar, at Wed, and at Dauar.

Pekari, the beauty of Ulag, is to be seen on the reef in the form of a large lava stone; both the breasts were quite perfect several years ago, but now there is only one as some floating wood broke off the other. Mr Bruce, who gave me this information, stated he went several times to see her, but never could make out anything approaching the form of a person.

Kudar is supposed to have been the foundation of the reef called Aum, to the north-west of Mer, whither the islanders go to catch fish, as it is considered a good fishing-ground; but her head was represented by a stone at Pit kek which is now in the Cambridge Collection (pl. X. fig. 1). It is a faceted boulder of fine-grained

¹ This is the *Conus millepunctatus* from which arm-rings, breast and other ornaments are made.

volcanic rock, 195 mm. in height; it does not appear to have any human workmanship. A black mineral, which is a dark mica, or biotite, forms on one facet a broad irregular ring, and there is a trace of another ring on the adjoining facet; between these two facets is a somewhat prominent angle, the lower margin of which is outlined by a band of the black mineral. The rings represent the eyes and the ridge the nose of Kudar.

The natives seem to take a great pride in the amatory adventures of Sida (or Said, as he was sometimes called). Certain of these incidents were told to me by residents at the spots where they occurred as local independent tales, such, for example, as his intercourse with Sokoli and Zabaker; I have thought it better to incorporate these fragments in the general tale of Sida.

A Miriam version was first published by the Rev. A. E. Hunt, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. 1898, p. 15.

14. GELAM.

[Told by Jimmy Dei (4 B). Cf. version, Vol. III. p. 248.]

Gelam's father and mother lived at Moa, and when he was still quite young his father died. When Gelam had grown up he took a boar's tusk and made a bamboo spear, *gelub*, which was used for catching birds.

A great number of the Torres Straits pigeons had congregated in a large tree which was full of fruit and Gelam saw them and said to his mother, "I go shoot pigeon for we two." He took his *gelub* and bow and arrows, and built for himself a shelter on the top of the tree, leaving loop-holes through which he could shoot.

He shot a couple of pigeons and left his *gelub* beside the tree and took the birds to his mother, saying, "You roast them, mother, take off all the feathers and roast them." One of the pigeons was fat and the other was lean, and the mother kept the fat one for herself and gave the lean one to Gelam¹.

Every day the same thing happened and at last his mother said to herself that she would frighten Gelam. So she took some coral mud and rubbed it over her face, she put on several petticoats and bound a head-dress of the black feathers of the cassowary and the feathers of the white reef heron round her head, and took a big stick and went softly to where Gelam was watching for pigeons.

By and by the mother broke a twig and Gelam, hearing the noise, looked down and saw what he thought was a spirit, *lamar*. 'Inside belong him afraid,' so he climbed down the tree and ran away and his mother ran home.

Gelam's mother reached home first. She took off the additional petticoats, and bathed in the sea to get rid of the mud, and made herself look just as she usually did.

In his fright Gelam continually stumbled and fell, bruising and cutting himself, and when he got home he told his mother that a *lamar* had chased him. He rested in the house and slept.

¹ My informant evidently made a mistake; it must have been Gelam who kept the fat pigeon for himself and gave the lean one to his mother (cf. Vol. v. p. 38), but, strangely enough, when I first heard the Miriam version of this tale, fifteen years ago, the same mistake was made. As the two versions were very similar in other respects, Jimmy Dei may have been responsible for both accounts.

Next day precisely the same adventure was repeated, and again, the day after that.

On the third evening Gelam noticed that some of the white mud lined the folds of his mother's ears, and he said to himself, "That's you, you make me afraid," but he did not let his mother know that he had found her out.

When his mother was asleep, Gelam took his father's skull and decorated it, and hung it up. Then he said to it, "Father, have pity on me! Show me a hard wood like canoe timber. I want to go to another place, mother has no mercy on me." Gelam then slept and he dreamed that he heard his father say, "When you go into the bush, look out for a tree on which a little *ti* bird¹ is sitting, that is the sign that you have found the wood; when you hit it it will make a sound like '*pi*'" (or, as Jimmy Dei explained, it would make a noise like a clock).

Next morning Gelam got up and went into the bush. He found a tree with a soft wood and he cut it down and fashioned it into the semblance of a dugong, which he hollowed out. He took it to a creek, but it floated too high out of the water, and he threw it away, saying, "Dugong, you go."

The next day he tried again and carved out a shark, but on floating it in the river he found that it also was too light, so he said, "You shark, you go away."

The next day he found a hard wood which he made into the image of a porpoise, *bid*. This also was useless, and he said, "Porpoise, you go."

At last Gelam determined to explore the depths of the bush. At first he looked in vain, but at length he saw a tree with a *ti* sitting on its top. He struck the tree, and it resounded with a "*pi*." He began to cut the tree down, but could not finish it and went home to sleep. Next day he again hacked at the tree and then went home to sleep.

The next day Gelam went back again and tried to fell the tree, but he could not succeed, so he called out to the south-east wind, *sager*, to help him, saying, "You haul it down"; but the south-east wind called to the north-west wind, *koki*, and the north-west wind called to the south-west wind, *ziai*, who broke it down. Gelam made a cavity in it, but by this time it was sundown, and he went home to sleep.

He returned the next morning and finished carving the tree to resemble a dugong, and he put a name on it and called it "*atwer*," which was his mother's name. He dragged the dugong to the river and sank it in the water. Then he hauled it on to the bank and went home to sleep, but his mother did not know what he was doing.

Another day he collected a lot of food and left it close to the dugong.

The following day when it was low water, Gelam said to his mother, "You go and catch fish. Suppose you see a big fish, you walk to the edge of the reef, and spear it with a *kus bager*" (a spear made of *kus* wood). Gelam put on a plaited arm-guard, *kadik*, and loaded the inside of the dugong with the food he had collected, and he floated down the stream into the sea and out into the deep water outside the reef.

Gelam's mother was catching fish when she saw the dugong, and called out, "Gelam! I see your fish in deep water," and she tried to spear it with the *kus bager*.

But Gelam threw off the dugong and said to his mother, "Mother, you know you formerly frightened me. You also gave me bad pigeons (see footnote p. 23). I leave you

¹ Sun-bird, *Nectarinia australis*.

now. I am going to Murray Island." His mother in vain besought him to remain, and she tried to catch him by the tail, but he whisked it away and got clear of the reef, telling her that she would see him go to Nagir and then to Waraber and Paremar.

His mother took off her petticoat and sat down on the reef.

Gelam came across the straits and stopped at Mebgor. Then he came right in to Mer, and lay with his nose to the north-east, *naiger*, but the wind blew the sea into his nostrils and hurt him, so he turned right round to the south-west, *ziari*. He took two long pieces of wood and stuck them in the sea: these are now Dauar and Waier.

This is why Mer has plenty of food and Moa has none now.

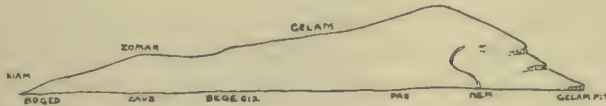


FIG. 9. Outline sketch of the hill Gelam, taken S.W. by W. off Mer.

This is a slight variant of the tale told to me in Mabuig (Vol. v. p. 38); each account giving episodes omitted by the other. It is very strange that all narrators should agree that Gelam's dugong first faced in a northerly direction and then turned right round and faced in the opposite direction. Gelam (fig. 9), the largest hill of Mer, culminates in a peak 750 feet in height; below this, to the south, is broken ground; one rocky headland is called Gelam pit, "Gelam's nose"; a prominent block of rock, about half-way down the hill, is "Gelam's eye"; and a curved escarpment near by corresponds with the front edge of the dugong's paddle. The hill Zomar, at the northerly edge of the ridge, splays out into the two spurs which form the tail of the dugong.

15. ABOB AND KOS.

[Compiled from accounts by S. MacFarlane, A. E. Hunt, R. Bruce, J. Bruce, Pasi (27), and Debe Wali (26).]

There were two brothers named Abob and Kos, who had no father; their mother was Kudar of Ulag, and no account is given of how she came to have the two children.

One day the two brothers went out and got some small fish, called *tup*, and brought them home, and Abob, who was the elder, told Kos to go and get some firewood and some pandanus leaves, *abal*, to wrap round the fish before roasting them on the fire. Kos did not want to go and was so dilatory in starting that Abob got angry and went off to cut the leaves himself. When he had cut them he laid them on the ground at the foot of the tree, and went walking towards the village of Er, and from there to Terker, and from there to Werbadu. There he found a small canoe (or rather a large canoe that had been broken and made into a smaller one by cutting off one end), he launched it and began to paddle towards Dauar.

Kos waited some time for Abob to come back with the leaves, and when he was tired of waiting he started off to look for him. He came to the foot of the tree and saw the leaves on the ground, and knowing that his brother had gone off in an angry

frame of mind, he felt uneasy and followed after him. He had no difficulty in picking up Abob's tracks, and when he came to a small hill at Werbadu, he looked across the water and saw Abob in the canoe going to Dauar. He wondered how he could get over to him and at last decided on flying, and fixing some grass on his arms for wings and also on his head, he flew after the canoe.

Abob was sitting in the stern of the canoe, paddling, and he did not see Kos coming, but he felt the canoe give a jump when Kos alighted on the bow. He wondered what could have made the canoe jump like that when it was going through deep water, and then he saw Kos sitting in the bow of the canoe like a bird. Abob was still angry with Kos, and he told him he did not want him to come with him, and said that he had better go back. Kos said "Stop speaking like that, for though you are my elder brother I won't have it," and he said that they would both go together to the opposite island of Dauar.

They went on and landed at Saded, a stony point opposite Werbadu in Mer, and they hauled the canoe up on to the beach, but it broke into two pieces and they left it there (pl. II. fig. 4). Then they walked to Kameri on the west point of the island, and made an enclosure with stone walls on the reef, in which fish might be stranded with the receding tide—such fish-weirs are called *sai*. Then they went round to Edeapek on the south-east side of the island. They wanted to get some *tup*, but as the beach at that place is all solid stone, they could not get the fish, so they made large clefts¹ in the rock running out on to the reef and these served as convenient places for catching *tup*. They also cut their particular marks on the stone so that men should know who had made the clefts. When they had made several clefts in the rock they erected stone fences or weirs, *sai*, in which to catch fish and then they went round to Ormei.

On the top of Waier there lived a number of people named Warip, and one of them was always on the look-out for fish: and when he saw some he told the others. The Warip then came down the hill and walked to the reef in a circle and made a noise and threw stones to frighten the fish, and drive them towards the centre of the circle, then they speared them. When they had caught a sufficient number, they roasted them on a fire.

There was an old woman named Gawer (or Gawar), who was at that time the only inhabitant of Dauar, and she lived in her garden at the base of Au Dauar.

One day she went to the sandspit at the base of Kebi Dauar, and, smelling the odour of the fish that were being cooked, she put on leaf petticoats and waded across the reef to Waier². She sat down a little way off from where the Warip were cooking their fish and thought to herself that they would give her some food. But they would not give her any of the fish, they ate it all up themselves and gave the old woman only the bones and the viscera. But Gawer sat quietly and said nothing, and then she went back to Dauar.

It was later on the same day that Abob and Kos came to Ormei, in Dauar (pl. III. fig. 3), and when they saw Gawer, they picked up a stone with which to kill her; but she said to them "Very good, my boys, you leave me alone. I am an old woman, but I will

¹ These clefts in the rock on the beach are called *kes edag gapu* (cleft collecting *gapu*), or *nar te* (canoe opening).

² At low tide it is possible to wade from one sandspit to the other.

show you a lot of men on another island: when they catch fish they never give me any, though I am an old woman: they eat it all themselves, giving me only the bones and insides and I can't eat these. If you will stay here I will go to the bush and bring you two good staves, *tut*, made of *kus* wood."

The brothers sat down while Gawer went to cut the staves. When she returned she brought in addition some dried banana leaves, *gulab*, the leaves of a long reed like a bamboo, *pater lam*, scarlet hibiscus flowers, *kokuam*, and feathers of the large grey tern, *sirar*. With these she made a *dari* or feather head-dress for each, and gave them a *tut* apiece, saying "You kill all the Warip," for she was very angry with the men of Waier who had slighted her.

Abob and Kos went down to the beach and dived into the sea, changing themselves immediately into gar-fish, *paris*¹, and they swam across to Waier where they saw plenty of men on the top of the hill. They took their own forms and began to fight, and when they thought that they had killed all of them, they returned to the sea and changed themselves into gar-fish. They heard men shouting at them derisively, and defying them, so they went back to the hill and killed more men. Some again escaped, so they decided to destroy the island, and they cut it up with their staves, taking great slices out of it; thus it is that the hill is now penetrated with large fissures so that no man can live there (pl. I. fig. 2, and pl. II. fig. 3). After they had finished destroying the place, they said to each other "Where is the Warip-land now? It is all gone."

Abob and Kos thought that they would like to see their mother again, so they transformed themselves into gar-fish and swam over to Mer, landing at Eger where they resumed their human forms. They had a rest there and sang at sundown. They also built the great fish-weirs that extend at intervals from Er to Kiam, before they returned to their mother at Ulag.

Some time afterwards Sida came to Mer from New Guinea, and what he did there has already been told.

After the loss of their mother, Abob and Kos, seeing Erub in the distance, determined to go there. The Erub people spoke the same language as the Murray Islanders, but, as they were desirous of changing it, Abob and Kos suggested that they should speak it more slowly than the Mer folk. At Erub also the brothers made stone fish-weirs, *sai*, reaching from Mauer to Kemus, as well as many *kes edag gapu* for catching *tup*.

From Erub the brothers went to Uga, but before reaching it, Abob changed his name to Kulka and Kos changed his to Dibir². At Uga they did as they had done at Erub, and taught the people to speak the Miriam language even more slowly than the people of Erub spoke it.

The brothers went on to Damut, where they were known as Pati and Enage. Here they taught the people their language. They changed their names to Ui and Sinarue and went on to Tutu, and taught the people the Tutu language. They changed their names to Waiau and Keboi, and went on to Parem, where again they taught the people

¹ This fish (*Belone* sp.) is a long spear-shaped fish that swims very rapidly near the surface of the sea with its tall erect dorsal fin in the air, which makes a very characteristic rushing sound.

² I have followed Mr Hunt's version of the tale at this point (*Journ. Anthr. Inst.* xxviii. 1898, p. 17). In Mr Bruce's version, Abob and Kos were known as Pati and Anag (? Enag) at Erub.

the language. Finally they changed their names to Badai and Kebor and went on to Kiwai, where they remained.

Abob and Kos are local culture-heroes who are reputed to have been the first to build the large weirs for catching fish (pl. II. fig. 2). Within the memory of man no native ever made a *sai*. All they can do now is to repair them, and the natives argue if Abob and Kos had not been endued with power exceeding that of mere mortals the fish-weirs would never have been made. The walls are made of blocks of lava, which the natives say Abob and Kos brought down from the bush, as there are no stones of this kind on the reef, only lumps of coral-rock. Not only did they build the *sai* on the Murray Islands, but they did the same in the other Eastern Islands and in some of the Central Islands as well. This is the only account I have of culture spreading westwards from the Eastern Islands, but there are numerous examples of the reverse taking place.

It will also be noted that at each place which Abob and Kos visited after leaving the Murray Islands, they either taught a new language or suggested a different way of speaking the old. The people of Erub and Uga still speak the Miriam language with slight dialectic differences. The inhabitants of the small Central Islands of Torres Straits belong essentially to the Western Group so far as our extremely limited information goes; but it is known that their language was half Western and half Eastern (v. p. 1), and even at Tutu some Eastern (i.e. Miriam) words were employed (v. pp. 347, 375).

In the account of the Sewereat *u zogo* it will be seen that Abob and Kos are also credited with founding this coco-nut shrine at Ormei with the help of Gawer, and when they were resting at Eger, after having killed the Warip, they erected a *u zogo* there also. It is interesting to note that none of the Dauar men are *u zogo le*, but these *zogo* are maintained by the Zagareb *le* who live on the further side of Mer. When the time comes to prepare the annual *u zogo* the *u zogo le* repair first to Ormei, then to Eger, which is in a Zagareb territory, and finally to Lewag (Ulag).

Gawer is now a piece of fine-grained volcanic ash, 217mm. in height, that stood in the garden at Keriam in Dauar which belongs to Komaberi (Kameri, 26). The stone is excellently carved to represent a *weare's*¹ head (pl. VI. fig. 4), it stood near one end of an oblong area of stones and shells about 1,830m. (6 feet) long and 760m. (2½ feet) wide (pl. III. figs. 1, 2). All are local stones except one rounded granite boulder. Some of the stones are upright and by these are moderate-sized giant clam shells, or portions of larger ones², which contain one or two small stones; these are her treasures, *ido lu*. It is said when Abob and Kos met Gawer at Sewereat they gave her a *weare* to eat, and she took it to her place at Keriam, which accounts for the stone fish being there. Gawer's place is not a *zogo ged*, but it is held in reverence as the place of a very distinguished personage of former times, hence it is a *lu babat ged*.

The Warip incident accounts for the pinnacle rocks on the top of Waier which are called *warip*, and also for the cleft appearance of its riven side (pl. I. fig. 2, pl. II. fig. 3).

¹ The *weare* is an edible fish which has a head and mouth not unlike that of a shark's, it attains a length of about 30 ins., when small (about a foot in length) it is called *kum*.

² Such, for example, is the specimen in the Cambridge Museum; it contains a quadrangular slab of volcanic ash, 139 mm. by 97 mm. Gawer is now in the Cambridge Museum; it is not a *zogo*.

16. HOW KAROM THE LIZARD STOLE FIRE FROM SERKAR.

(Version A.)

An old woman named Serkar, who lived at Nagir, had six digits on each hand. She had a finger between the thumb and the index finger, as all people had long ago. When she wanted to make fire, she placed one piece of firewood above another, then put the finger that had the fire underneath and lighted the wood.

'All the animals at Moa saw smoke plenty times and knew it was fire.' They wanted fire very much as they had none, so one day they had 'a big talk in one place.'

Tabu (snake), *Si* (a large lizard), *Zirar* (a long-tailed lizard), *Mònan* (a very small lizard), *Waipem* (house lizard), *Karom* (a large lizard)¹, and *Goai*² (frog), all gathered together and 'had plenty big talk. "Very good we get that fire," one speak all the same. So they talk, talk and say "Very good we swim to Nagir and look. All right we swim."

'*Tabu* he try first to swim. He too much sea, big-fellow sea there, no gammon. By and by *Tabu* he come back, too much sea, he go mouth belong him, he no savvy good swim.

'By and by *Goai* he try: all the same too much sea, *Goai* he can't go.

'*Si*, *Mònan*, *Zirar* and *Waipem* he all try, but he all no good, he come back.

'Last one *Karom* he try: that fellow he got long neck; suppose you look at him he all the time lift up his head and look good: he make his neck long suppose he like. He go swim. Ah! he savvy: big sea he come, he lift his head good, he all right. He get Nagir, he get sandbeach, he go straight house belong Serkar. She sit down and make basket. She very glad to see *Karom*. She speak him, "Very good you sit down." She go look garden belong her get food belong *Karom*. She go look garden. *Karom* he look good, she go away. Ah! Then he look all over house to get fire. He no see no fire. He think inside himself "We no look good on. Moa. She no got fire." By and by Serkar come back. She got plenty thing belong garden and plenty firewood. She take wood and put one piece on top of another good. *Karom* he look her good all the time she make wood ready. Ah! then she take finger belong her and put it inside wood, then wood he go fire, she make fire good. Ah! then she cook food belong *Karom*. When food finished cook, she take all wood away from fire, and put it in the sand so that all the fire he dead. *Karom* he look good. Not one small piece he live. She got fire all the time finger belong her. She no like lose firewood. *Karom* he like too much take fire back along Moa. *Karom* he finish food. He speak "Very good I go, big-fellow swim go Moa³." Serkar he go along sandbeach look *Karom* go. He go close to water. He hold out his hand to Serkar. She give him left hand. He no take it. He speak "Very good you give me proper hand." He gammon he wild along her. By and by Serkar gave him her proper hand, that one he got fire. *Karom* he catch finger that got fire in his mouth, and bite it off and swim with it to Moa. Moa men he all stop sandbeach, he wait for *Karom*. Then all glad when they see

¹ Monitor lizard locally, but erroneously called *iguana*, *Varanus* sp.

² *Hyla coerulesa*.

³ I.e. It is a long swim to Moa, the distance is at least nine miles.

fire. All he take fire, go Mer. All go one place in bush, each one get a branch from the tree he like best, and ask each tree to come and get fire-stick, *sòbe* (*Eugenia* near *E. chisiacolia*), *gebi*, *kozò*, *marep* (bamboo), *sem* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), *areparep*, *ursekerseker*, *zib*, *warupwarup*, *wadewade*, *kokokoko*, *ibi*, all them fellow tree he got fire inside. Man he take *goigoi*¹ he find him all the time.

'Serkar she lose finger belong her. By and by all man he got only five fingers. You look big-fellow place where no finger he stop, fire-finger he stop there before. All them trees he keep his fire inside, he never let him go. End.'

I have printed this tale as it was given me in writing many years ago by Mr Robert Bruce. One informant told me that when *Karom* cut off Serkar's fire-finger he used a *wageb* shell: this is *Cyrena*, a common river-shell in New Guinea, which is used for scraping food when cooking it and for a variety of other purposes.

(Version B.)

On one of the islands near the mainland of New Guinea (Doudai) lived a woman named Sarkar, who had fire between her finger and thumb on the right hand. One day some men fishing saw smoke rising in the island where Sarkar dwelt, and they decided to go and explore, and if possible find out the secret of this mysterious power. After considerable dispute amongst themselves as to the best means of acquiring the desired information, they decided to change themselves into animals. They therefore took the form of the *mokes* (rat), *mona* (lizard), *tabo* (snake), *si* (iguana), *zira* (?), *ked* (?), and *karom* (?). The heavy seas soon caused the *mokes*, *ked*, *zira*, *si*, *tabo* and *mona* to give up the attempt. The *karom*, however, kept on and ultimately landed near to the place where Sarkar lived. Going up to the woman in the form of a man, he asked, "Have you any fire?" to which she replied, "No!" for she was anxious to keep her power a secret. Sarkar brought her visitor food, and having eaten, he laid down to sleep, but he took care to sleep with one eye open. Presently he saw the woman strike some fire from her hand on to some dried leaves and wood, and they were soon alight. The next morning he decided to leave, and said to Sarkar, "I am going; shake hands!" She offered her left, but he refused and asked for the other. She then offered her right, and as she did so, the man suddenly drew a bamboo knife and cut her hand off, plunging into the sea with his prize. When he reached his own place he tried to make fire and succeeded. Some trees saw him make the fire, and went to look at it. Some of them, the *kizo*, *seni*, *zeb*, *marep* and *argergi*, took some of the fire with them, and ever since that time these trees have possessed the power of producing fire. [The trees mentioned here are those formerly used for producing fire by friction.]

This version, which is reprinted *verbatim*, was published by Mr Hunt (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. 1898, p. 18); a variant collected by Mr E. Beardmore was published in Vol. v. of these Reports, p. 17.

¹ *Goigoi* is the name for the two fire-sticks; the vertical one is called *werem*, "child," and the horizontal one *apu*, "mother": the twirling of the vertical stick is called *werem d(i)rimli*, "child turning": they say *apu ur ikwar*, "mother fire gives."

In my collections I find the following words used for fire-sticks: *kozò*, *argerarger* (*Callicarpa*), *zib*, *urlagelager*, *warupwarup*.

17. AUKEM AND TERER.

(Version A.)

In former days there were villages in the bush of Mer and in one village, named Mear, near Korkar, lived Terer and his mother Aukem. Terer had no father, and it is not known who were the parents of Aukem.

When Terer was about eighteen years of age he was still living with his mother at Mear, and one day he was sitting down and beating a drum, while his mother was plaiting a mat; at the same time some *zogo* men were preparing a *lower zogo* (yam shrine) near by at Kobei. They heard the beating of the drum and an old man said to the others, "What does that fellow Terer mean by making that noise while we are here making *zogo*¹? Very good one of you men go and bring him here and we will kill him for not having more respect for our *zogo*."

Some men went to Terer and persuaded him to come and have his hair dressed, *mus ed*, at Kēs. On arriving there they laid him face downwards on the ground and rubbed the customary mud, *bud*, into his hair; after a few hours they took the mud off and rolled the hair into rope-like ringlets with oil and red earth. Whilst they were preparing his hair they half killed him, and they removed his skin by scraping him and he became like a white man. Then they sent him back to his mother.

When he returned to the house his mother was still plaiting her mat and did not hear him come. He called out to her "Mother!" His mother looked up and saw him so altered that she was much astonished and very angry. Terer hung down his head and leaned on his spear. His mother asked him what they had done to him at Kēs and told him to go to Boigu and take his bones there, for she thought her son was dead and that it was his ghost that appeared to her, for it is to Boigu that all ghosts go. She threw him a bunch of *gàa* shells, such as are used as rattles for the dance; he picked it up and went to Eger dancing all the while, and as he danced the dry mud fell from his hair to the ground.

He danced along to Bēs and went on dancing through Ubwe to Werbadu, but before reaching the latter spot he took off his dance-mask, *nog*, and laid it down in the bush. At Werbadu a number of men were sitting down and playing at throwing small arrows and Terer joined in the sport. Later he went with them to Dauar in their canoe and he remained there for a couple of days.

In the meantime Aukem set out to look for Terer, carrying in each hand a large human bone; she came to Werbadu in her journeying, and brandishing the bones she inquired after her boy; they told her he had gone over to Dauar. She went over to Dauar in a canoe and met Terer returning in another canoe in the channel between the two islands. Aukem hailed the men in the canoe and asked them where her boy was. They said, "He is here"; for Terer had been cowering down in the canoe as he was ashamed of the colour of his skin.

His mother called to him and he stood up, then she began to speak angrily to him and said, "Why did you not go to Boigu as I told you to do? You are dead now you go away for ever."

¹ The operation of making *zogo* has to be carried on secretly.

Terer began to dance on the platform of the canoe and then dived into the sea. His mother took the two dead man's bones in her hands and dived after him. He swam below the surface of the water like a fish until he reached the land at Giz, where he went ashore and danced, thence he went to the north-west point of the island to a place called Kameri and danced there, then he went to Giar pit and danced again. His mother followed him still carrying the bone in each hand and she cried out to him continually, "You go! you go!"

The people on Dauar watched Terer and his mother and wondered at their actions, and asked one another, "What are Terer and his mother doing this kind of thing for?"

After Terer had finished his dancing he stood ready to dive at the point of the reef near deep water; but before going he spoke to his mother and said, "Mother, very good you come too and we will both go together." He then dived into deep water, and when he came up to the surface he again asked his mother to come with him. Aukem then dived into the water with the bone in each hand and they went away for ever.

(Version B.)

(In a second version of this tale the earlier incidents were quite similar to those narrated above, but there is enough divergence in the narrative after Terer had been flayed by the men at Kës to justify the relation of the other version in its entirety.)

Terer brought away from Kës a small single-pointed spear, *baur*, and reached home and went and stood behind his mother without her having seen him. He called out to her, "Well mother, you look at me." She turned round, left her mat and looked at her boy and 'inside of her no good.' She said, "What did you do at Kës? Before you proper, now you bad boy." She made the boy feel so ashamed that he hung down his head and stuck the spear in the ground between the great toe and the other toes of his right foot, and he thought "What am I going to do?"

He pulled out the spear, turned round and jumped as if he were at a dance, and then he developed a passion for dancing.

The boy went, and the mother followed until they arrived at Eger where all the men were sitting down. When the men saw the boy looking like white calico they took a drum and began beating it. Terer and his mother left that place and went to the valley above Er.

Terer went to Werbadu and his mother returned home to Mear. Terer took a small canoe and went over to Dauar and danced. When his mother had made every thing ready to go into mourning for Terer she left the house and followed Terer asking of the old men where he was, and at Werbadu they said, "Terer took a small canoe and went to Dauar." She asked them to take her too.

The same day that the men took Aukem to Dauar, Terer thought he would like to go to Mer and the two canoes met at Keud reef. The mother was now sorry and had gone into mourning for Terer, she had covered herself with grey mud and wore the mourning fringes. The boy saw his mother, he was sitting in the stern behind the men who were paddling; his mother looked and said, "Who is that behind you fellows?"

Terer turned round. "I know that man," she said. They stopped paddling. The boy hung down his head and started from the stern walking along the gunwale, keeping his head down all the while; when he arrived at the central platform, 'he no more fool, he jump up and down and jump from platform and go down in water, keep under for two hours and sing out to mother belong him, "You come too—you and me no come back." His mother followed him and they dived down and swam under the water till they reached Dauar.

Terer said to the Dauar men, "You get my things ready, I leave. You take drum (*warup*) and food and sing song¹ belong man he die." By and by Terer jumped up and danced with a spear and bow-and-arrow, the mother got up too and the men beat the drum. Thus Terer danced till he came to Giar pit, then he went into deep water but the mother stood up on the beach. Terer waited for his mother about an hour, at last he came back and said to her, "Now mother you and me go. We not go to Masig, we go straight to Mabuiag and Boigu." He went into the sea, and again waited for his mother for an hour, then he returned and said to her, "You come, you cause of trouble belong me, you spoil me. You and me dead now." 'Mother go down too. Finish. They come back no more. Big man hit *warup* and carry the news, "Terer he finish him, he finish mother, he go to Mabuiag and Boigu." Big man say, "You and me go same road when we dead and go to Mabuiag, Buru and Boigu."'

At low tide in fine weather two stones can be seen in deep water off the edge of the reef, these are called "Aukem and Terer." This tale accounts for the practice of preparing dead bodies for burial by scraping off the outer cuticle of the body. It was first done on Terer.

When beginning this tale my informant said, "Story belong man," emphasising the last word, this seems rather strange as it is a culture myth; and although the plot and incidents differ entirely, this tale cannot be considered apart from the tale of Aukem and Tiai narrated in Vol. v. p. 56. Aukem and Terer are personified in the *Terer keber*, (see section on Funeral Ceremonies).

Religious Myths.

18. THE MALU SAGA.

1. *The Coming of Bomai.*

(Version A.)

Bomai came from Tuger and went, in the form of a whale, *galbol*, to Boigu, where he was stranded on the beach. All the Boigu people went to catch him and one man looked at him and said to them, "All you people catch that whale." The people considered how they should catch him and cut him up, and when they had fetched their bamboo knives they tied a rope to his tail and hauled him up to a house, but Bomai whistled, and all the men dropped the rope. The head-man said, "Ulloa, that is my

¹ In the Pasi MS. the Dauar men sang this song: "*Uwe uwe uwe markai wewe Tereria wewe.*" It is worthy of note that the Western word for ghost or spirit, *markai*, is used instead of the Eastern, *lamar*, as well as the Western suffix *-ia*.

zogo. I leave him, all you people take drums, you and me will have a dance on the other side" (of the island). Bomai did not want to remain so he broke the fence and went down to the beach.

When Bomai arrived at the sea he took on the form of a canoe, and went to Dauan, then he turned over and looked like a turtle and went on to the shore. A man who was on his way to catch *zab* fish looked at Bomai and as he came close beside him Bomai looked at him; when the man went to fetch a spear Bomai crawled close to the creek, but the man went up and caught hold of Bomai, and turned him over on his back, and taking some red paint he ruddled himself from head to foot. Then he went away and called out to the people, "You help me cut up this turtle." When he returned to the turtle with the other men, they began to haul up Bomai, but they let go in fright as in the meantime Bomai had taken some red paint and completely ruddled himself with it. "This fellow is a *zogo*, we can't cut him up," they said, so they turned the turtle over, erected a fence round him and left him while they went to get food for a feast. Bomai went away.

As Bomai left Dauan to go to Mabuiag he turned over and changed from a turtle into a canoe, on nearing Mabuiag he turned into a dugong and got stranded on a reef. The men saw him and went to take him, so they fastened a rope round his tail and hauled him on to the sand-beach. Then they fetched their bamboo knives and as they were preparing to cut him up, Bomai grunted; "Ulloa!" they cried, "that is a *zogo*, we can't cut him up, we must leave him." They built a fence round him and went to fetch their drums from the other side of the island. Bomai went away.

Bomai changed into a canoe, but as he was nearing Badu he turned over and became a porpoise, *bid*, and swam to the land. A Badu man who was fishing, caught him and called out to the people, "All you fellows come to cut up a porpoise." The men were very glad and they caught hold of Bomai and hauled him ashore; when they were preparing to cut him up, Bomai suddenly turned round and put his head into the sea and the men caught hold of his tail and held fast. A woman called out, "No good we catch him, he another kind of fish, he got medicine inside." The men took their drums and went to the other side with all the people, and they were very glad and they sang and danced thinking that Bomai was there all the time. Bomai went away.

Bomai transformed himself from a porpoise into a canoe, but on coming too close to a rock, one side staved in, then he lifted up one of his arms for an outrigger, *serib*, but it broke and he drifted close to the beach of Moa. Two men came, and seeing Bomai said, "Ulloa! that canoe he come, a new canoe, we take him, he belong we." They took the canoe and put an anchor out on the other side, and took a stern line and made it fast on the beach and hauled the canoe on the shore. The two men painted themselves and went to tell the people that they had found a canoe which they had left on the beach, and they beat their drums and danced for joy. Bomai mended his side and outrigger, and after making himself all right, he painted himself red and went away.

Bomai left Moa as a canoe and sailed to Nagir. A Nagir man who was fishing saw the canoe, and came to have a good look at it, but Bomai transformed himself

into a crayfish, *kaier*, (fig. 10)¹. The Nagir man noticed all this and as he caught the crayfish it made a noise², so he dropped Bomai into a rock-pool, *goki*, on the reef, and called out to the people. They came and looked and said, "That is a *zogo*," but one man said, "No, that isn't a *zogo*, we will roast it and eat it." Bomai lay still and pretended to be quiet. The men made a fence round Bomai and went off to get their drums, and they danced for joy. Bomai went away.

Bomai changed into a canoe again. Two men, Sigar and Kulka, were inside the canoe, 'all same as picaninny³.' These three men went to Yam. The Yam people laid a coco-nut leaf, *bei*, on the ground and made it into a mat, on which Bomai, Sigar, and Kulka sat.

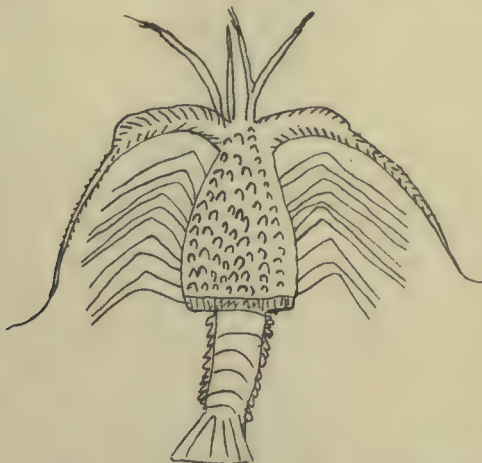


FIG. 10. Drawing by a native of a *kaier*, spiny lobster or crayfish (*Palinurus*). Reduced $\frac{1}{2}$.

Bomai's body was anointed with charcoal, *keg*, made from the shell of the coco-nut, mixed with coco-nut oil, *id*; but his three brothers were allowed by him to use only *keg*. Bomai said to Sigar, "All right, I leave you here," and they left Sigar and went away.

Bomai and Kulka went to Masig and the natives laid down a leaf-mat, *ka*, (fig. 11) that comes from New Guinea, upon which the two sat. Bomai then took a coco-nut leaf, but Kulka stopped on the mat⁴, and Bomai said, "All right, Kulka, you stop here." Bomai went away.

¹ The biramous antennae and large spiny antennae are shown in the drawing, and the five pairs of ambulatory appendages are correctly indicated, as well as the absence of the great nippers characteristic of true lobsters.

² The marine crayfish, or spiny lobster, *Palinurus*, can make a stridulating noise by rubbing the basal joints of its antennae against the carapace.

³ This is somewhat obscure: my informant implied that these two men were born from the canoe, and yet they were "brothers" of Bomai.

⁴ My informant, Groggy, laid great emphasis on the statement that Kulka stopped on the *ka* mat, while Bomai sat on the coco-nut leaves, and other informants mentioned the mats. It was not until Mr Bruce sent me the following information that I realised the importance of this. Mr Bruce says, the natives state that Malu (Bomai) gave orders to Sigar that he and his brothers, Seo and Kulka, were to sit on one kind of mat, whilst he alone might sit on another kind. Malu rebuked his brothers when they sat on the same mat as he did, and ordered them to sit on mats made from the leaves of the pandanus, *abal*, and told them that he was superior to them and that he only might sit on mats made from the leaves of the coco-nut palm.

These were not plaited mats, the leaves were merely laid on the ground. The use of definite mats for certain ceremonial purposes is characteristic of the Western Islanders. Cf. Vol. v. pp. 65, 79.

Bomai went towards the Murray Islands as a canoe, but he was capsized at the long reef of Wai, and the canoe broke up. He swam away in deep water as a whale, *galbol*, and looked at Giar pit, in Dauar: then he transformed himself into a man, and being cold and tired, he lay down on a sandy spot in the bush in full sunshine, and when he was warm he went to sleep. The Dauar men built round him a stone fence, *kegar kar*, such as they build on the reefs of Badu and Moa, and went into the bush to have a feast, leaving Bomai behind. Bomai did not want to stay, so he went away.



FIG. 11. *Ka* mat, made of leaves of *Pandanus*, cut into strips and fastened together; the *kai* of the Western islands. Cf. Vol. v. p. 209.

Bomai took the form of a canoe, and sailed away to the Great Barrier Reef, (Openor), where he stayed for three days, and returned to Dauar and landed at Ormei (pl. III. fig. 3). Here two men caught him and built a fence round him; they told the people what they had done and had a feast; but Bomai went away.

Bomai sailed about as a canoe for one day, and finally landed at Ne, in Waier; he looked into the bush to see if he could find a place where he could remain. "No," said he, "I can't stop here, this place is too small," so he sailed away to the Great Barrier Reef, and went a great distance along it. After a few days he saw the hill of Murray Island, and sailed thither.

(The foregoing is the most detailed account I have collected, concerning the wandering of Bomai to Mer. Before I proceed with the narrative, it will be as well

to give the more usual version. The following account is a compilation of versions told to me at various times by Wanu, Baton, Enoka, and others. The preceding narrative was told me by Groggy, who said he had received part of it from a Moa man. It is perhaps worthy of note that Wanu (15 A), and the brothers Baton and Groggy (15) belong to Areb, and Enoka to Er (18 A.)

(Version B.)

Four brothers, Bomai (Malu)¹, Seo, (Seii, Seiu or Seau), Sigar, and Kulka (Kolka), left their native island, Muralug, each in his own canoe, and went to Tutu, where Bomai 'did bad' with the women², though his eldest³ brother Sigar told him not to do so.

Next they came to a big coral reef, named Tediū, between Waraber and Paremar, where they anchored⁴. The wind rose, and soon it blew so hard that the anchor-rope of Sigar's canoe broke, and he called out to his brothers, "I drift away." Ultimately he was stranded on Yam or Am, as the Miriam call it. The three other canoes went on to Aurid, where Kulka said he would remain.

Bomai and Seo proceeded to Masig. Now Bomai, the eldest of the four brothers, 'did bad' with the women of that island. Seo expostulated with him. This so enraged Bomai that he took a long spear (*bager*) and thrust it through Seo from behind, with such force that the spear came out in front: he then threw the body into the sea. The inhabitants of Masig, however, took it up and put it in the bush.

Bomai set sail for Mer, but, encountering bad weather, the canoe broke all to pieces on Saper reef, which lies south-west of Mer. With the assistance of a gunwale board from the bow of the canoe, he swam to Mer and landed at Begegiz, a village at the south-west of Mer, that is hard by Umar⁵.

The men of the Dauereb *le* community, who inhabit that part of the island, seized him and said, "You stop here, we will go and look for food for you." Before they went they built a stone fence, *kegar kar*, round Bomai; but he took the board and returned to the sea, and swam to Dauar. The tide however was running very strong and it carried him to Kameri-nor reef.

The Giar people saw him and when they had caught him, they erected a rope-

¹ In order to secure uniformity I here use the word Bomai, but it must distinctly be understood that in nearly every account this individual is called Malu, or Malo. I have been greatly exercised in my mind over this circumstance: my own conviction is that Bomai was too sacred a name to be uttered lightly; everyone might and did know about Malu, consequently in the legends that were, so to speak, common property, the name of Malu was introduced, but initiates would certainly be correctly informed, and it was only rarely, and under favourable circumstances, that I obtained more precise information. Groggy called him Bomai in Version A.

² Enoka said, "Bomai, he wild, he steal women all the time, he good *zogo*."

³ I gather this was the eldest of the other three.

⁴ In Enoka's version they first went to the sand-bank, Uper, Coco-nut Reef; Bomai sat apart from the other *zogo le*, but overheard them saying that he was "no good." Sigar said he would go to Yam, Kulka said he would go to Aurid, and Seo said he would go to Masig. I have also a statement by Enoka that they 'yarned' at Long Island, Sāsi or Zerg.

⁵ According to Enoka, Bomai landed first at Gigired on Mer, and then went to Giar and Ormei on Dauar, thence to Ne and Zi on Waier, later on to Begegiz, and finally to Terker; see also Vol. III. p. 234.

fence, *beriberi kar*, round him, and said, "All right, you stop, we will go and get food for you." Bomai said "yes." When they went, he went too.

Bomai swam in deep water, and the tide took him to Sauriòd, in the bay of Ormei. Here also the men seized him, and made a stone-fence, *kegar kar*, round him, and went to get food.

Bomai got away and the tide took him to the sand spit of Waier, the men there erected a tree fence round him, but he got away. Then he went to Ne and the same thing happened again.

(I now continue the legend, making a compilation of all the versions known to me: one of these was published by myself in *Folk-Lore* (1. 1890, pp. 181, 193), and another by the Rev. A. E. Hunt, *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii., 1898, p. 13.)

(Continuation compiled from all Accounts.)

Bomai came to Terker on the south side of Mer. On the hill behind Terker, at a place called Aud¹, there was only one house which was inhabited by a man named Dòg and his wife Kabur.

Kabur was line-fishing for *garom* at low water at the edge of the reef at Terker when Bomai came up in the form of a canoe, and Kabur thought a canoe had come from Waier. While she was looking at it Bomai turned into drift-wood, *sap*, and Kabur said, "This is wood here, where is the canoe?" Next he turned into a whale, and then into a dugong, and looked at Kabur, and finally he transformed himself into an octopus, *arti*², and came close to Kabur, and had a good look at her. Kabur stood half submerged on the reef and micturated, then Bomai swam beneath her buoyant petticoat, and, entwining his arms round her body and thighs, had connection with her. He left her with a retreating wave, and then returned twice in a similar manner, but at the third time of his coming to her, Kabur took a wooden skewer, *kus keg*, out of her basket and speared Bomai in the eye, and pulling him out of the water put him in her basket, *epei*, and returned home. Kabur said, "*Dogěra oa*," when putting Bomai in her basket, and there is at Terker a hole in the reef in which the water sucks up and down and still says "*dogěra oa*."

Dòg was in his house and Kabur called out to him as she came, "Dòg, I have caught an octopus, I don't know, but I think it is a *zogo*," and she described all the details of its capture. Dòg took the octopus, which was red all over³, out of the basket and put it in a rock pool. Dòg was very pleased, and painted himself red from head to foot. Bomai made a noise and moved his arms, and Dòg said that was "medicine," *puripuri*, and Kabur said, "Yes," and told her husband about the canoe and drift-wood,

¹ There is a small clump of bamboos at this place, such as is always to be found at the spots sacred to Malu. Like Begegiz, this spot is held in reverence as being the place where Malu was first housed.

² Enoka said, Bomai also turned himself into a mangrove fruit which bobbed up and down in the water, and into *zaibu* fruit, and the fruit of the *tauar*.

³ Groggy told Dr Myers that Bomai changed himself into a whale, dugong, drift-wood, turtle (*nam*), shark (*beizam*), and octopus.

⁴ This spot belongs to Barsa (20).

⁵ One informant told Dr Myers that "*arti* took *zogo* fashion," probably referring to the ceremonial red coloration; all the cephalopoda can change colour in a remarkable manner.

and then changed her wet petticoat for a dry one. They took Bomai out of the pool and put him in a basket and skewered it up, and went home, and hung up the basket. Then they said to one another, "You and me no sleep, keep quiet, we watch that thing."

These two watched, and watched, and watched, and at midnight the octopus inside the basket made a clicking noise like that of a *gòà* rattle, and the two said, "Ah!" and the octopus crawled out of the basket, its eyes shining like stars. "Sh—h," said the two in fear, as they looked on, and they clung together and whispered. The octopus fell to the ground, and immediately was transformed into the man Bomai, who picked up a couple of *as* shells (*Cassis*) that were in the house, and rubbed them together, and the tree-frogs and the *kitotos* (?locusts or cicadas) were all making similar noises in the bush. Bomai went out of the house and walked all round the island, through Las and round as far as Gigo, then he returned along the same road by which he had come; when he arrived at Terker, he left the *as* shells outside the door of the house and went in. He made the same clicking noise, and his eyes gleamed as he turned into an octopus and crawled into the basket.

Next morning Dòg said to Kabur, "You brought a good thing from the water, I am glad I've got him." Dòg painted himself red all over, and put on a very large arm-guard, *kadik*; on his head he put on a small coronet of cassowary feathers, *wer sam*, and some black-tipped white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon, and otherwise decorated himself; in his hand he carried five sticks¹. Kabur also painted herself and put on several petticoats, and various ornaments, including *sabagorar* (pl. XVI. fig. 1); she remained in the house while Dòg followed the footprints of Bomai as far as Gigo², and like him returned the same way that he had gone. Dòg asked if anything had happened during his absence, and Kabur said "No." The Murray Island men noticed Dòg's behaviour and said, "I don't know what made him do it. I think he has something in his house," and they had a long yarn about it. The men told Dam, and Samekëp³, Kabur's younger brothers, to inquire into the matter. The two brothers agreed between themselves to take some food to Kabur as an excuse and to have a look round, and to steal the object if they could. So they went to see Kabur, and brought her a present of *tup* fish, without asking for anything: 'they yarned and yarned.' At sundown Kabur asked, "You two go?" "No," they replied, "it's too dark, we sleep here; to-morrow we go." "That best," their sister replied, and they retired to rest, the two brothers occupying a separate bed. They did not sleep, but kept watch. In due time they saw the light shining from the eyes of the octopus. "Ulloa!" they said, "we find him out now." They painted themselves. Dam said, "no talk." Bomai came out, walked round the island, and returned into his basket. Then the brothers went into the bush and yarned. "Now we catch him," Dam said, "I take him." The other said, "No!" "Yes," he replied, "I take him now."

¹ Enoka said that the *kebi nei* (small name) of these sticks was *siwaimer*, and their *au ne* (big name) was *zogo kale*, but the latter term really signifies "very sacred."

² Enoka said that the first day Dòg went as far as Nanipat, where he rested, and then returned; the next day he reached Begegiz, where he rested and returned; and on the last day he rested at Dedamud. Another informant gave the following places: Baur, Begegiz, and Eipket at Gigo-pat.

³ Dam was said to belong to the *Bezam boui*, and Samekëp to the *Zagareb*. In Pasi's version, Vol. III. p. 236 the latter is called *Saremekeb*.

In the morning Kabur said, "When you two go?" "We go now," they replied. Kabur gave them some food, and they went into the bush and hid the food, and secretly watched what was going on. Dòg once more painted himself with red, put on a large arm-guard, *kudik*, and carried the five sticks, while he again followed Bomai's track. Kabur painted herself, put on plenty of petticoats and ornaments, and stayed behind to guard the door of the house.

The two brothers creeping noiselessly to the rear of the house, began to remove the thatch, and through the hole thus made, Dam entered, and cut the string which suspended the basket, which he passed through the hole for Samekëp to hold. When Dam got outside he wanted Samekëp to give up the basket as he had taken it; but Samekëp said to Dam, "You go and get a drum and we will dance." Samekëp put on the Bomai¹.

Dam took a drum, and Samekëp danced. Dam again asked for the octopus. Samekëp said "No, the drum is good enough for you²." The brothers left Bomai at Dam, which was their place. As they were returning thither the Las men called out to the brothers, "You got him now?" They said, "Yes."

Dòg went round the island as far as Gigo, and having run quickly he was very tired; he noticed that his body did not perspire as usual, so he feared something was amiss at home, and he suspected that his brothers-in-law had stolen his *zogo*. ('Heart along him think these two fellows steal my thing, as my body no feel good all same as other day.') Then he walked home and Kabur assured him no one had come, but on going round the house they noticed that the thatch had been removed, and then they discovered the *zogo* had been stolen. Dòg took his bow and arrows, and further armed himself with large sharks' teeth fastened on to a stick. Kabur took a *kus bager*, or sharp piece of *kus* wood, and together they went to Las, and talked to the people of that village.

Dam and Samekëp were accused of stealing the *zogo* and they admitted having done so. The Las men gave Dòg a pipe of tobacco³ to smoke, 'and they were friends.' They said, "This belong man, send woman away." Dòg said, "All right, you keep him."

2. *The Coming of Barat.*

The *Omai le* (dog men), *Daumer le* (pigeon men), *Geregere le* (*Geregere*—bird men), *Bezam le* (shark men), *Wazwaz le*⁴ (*Wazwaz*—shark men), and *Zagareb*, all came from Tuger, each clan in its own canoe, and went to Boigu to ask the people where Bomai had gone. The Boigu men said, "Yes, he came here, and we caught him, and built a fence round him, but when we danced he went away." The men of these six clans

¹ There appears to be some confusion here between the octopus (which it was at that particular time), and the mask which subsequently represented Bomai.

² In Pasi's version (Vol. III. p. 236) Samekëp is called *Zagareb le* and drum man, and Dam *beizam le* and dance man; the parts seem reversed in the above version, as the *Zagareb le* are the drum men. Pasi's account is also obscure; he makes the brothers stop at Keugiz, Gebadar Kobi, and the hill Gazir on their way from Aud to Dam.

³ Tobacco is mentioned in several versions, which points to its use prior to the coming of Europeans.

⁴ *Wazwaz* is an undetermined fish, described as a "shark with whiskers and a very small eye."

asked where he went to, and they followed his wanderings from island to island¹. With them also came *Nagirum le* from Nagir, *Sigarum le*² from Yam and Tutu, and men from the islands of Waraber, Paremar, Aurid, and Masig.

On coming to Mer, they asked a man at Deiau where Bomai was; he replied, "I don't know, I no catch him, I think he go to small island." So they went on to Dauar, whence they were sent on to Waier. Then they returned to Mer and went off in a canoe to bring Barat from Moa.

When they came Barat humbugged the people, and according to the fashion of olden times he tied a rope round the tail of a *kamosar*³. Then he stood up in the canoe and said he was going to make "medicine," *puripuri*, and to make dugong, turtle, and any kind of fish. He next closed his eyes and pretended to sleep, "Ulloa!" he cried, "I am making a sucker-fish," *gèp*. When he had made it, he said they would all go ashore, and make small wooden models of dugong, turtle, and crayfish, and they named them, and rubbed them with 'medicine plants,' and put them in baskets. Barat then took a feather of the eagle, *waridub lub*, and placed it behind his right ear, and spake to all the people, "All you and me go to the other side."

The nine canoes that came from Moa went, and they anchored in deep water. Barat opened his basket, and gave sucker-fish to everyone, and when he had finished, he stood up in his place in the stern of his canoe, and called out, "You fellows, look well at this crayfish," and he took out the crayfish, and put it in the sea, and it swam up from the deep water and came alongside the canoe. The people said, "Barat, the crayfish are all here. What shall we do with them?" ("which way I go make him?"). To this Barat replied, "Catch him." So they caught them, and put them in the canoes. Barat again called out, "All you fellows look out, the turtle are coming, you throw out your sucker-fish towards the turtle." The turtle came up close to the bow of the canoe, and the men said, "Barat, the turtle have come up here, how are we to catch them?" and Barat told them how to catch the turtle by means of the sucker-fish.

Barat called out, "You look out, take charge of all dugong. You fellow look out sucker-fish, sucker-fish catch him." The men replied, "Barat, the dugong is too big, we fellow can't catch him." Barat said, "Put a *kimus* (arrow-point) in the nose of the dugong and it will die, then you can lift it up and put it in your canoe."

The men caught a turtle and gave it to Barat, then they went to Moa and had a meeting on the shore. The men said, "Barat, we want to take you to Murray Island." "All right," he replied, "you take my turtle, I will go in another canoe."

The canoes had a race. Barat's canoe was the first to arrive at Murray Island, it went round the island and the crew left Barat at Er. The other canoes with the turtle came round later, and gave the turtle to Barat.

On referring to the tale of Bia in Volume v. p. 44, it will be at once evident that this is a variant of that folk-tale; both refer to a Western Islander who introduced the

¹ The narrative was very prolix here, and it virtually repeated in detail all the information previously given concerning the wanderings of Bomai.

² So called from Sigar, Sikar or Sigai, the brother of Malu, p. 35. Cf. Vol. v. pp. 64, 375.

³ This is a fish that lives in crevices of the rock in deep water; some called it a kind of dog-fish. Cf. Vol. v. p. 44.

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method of catching turtle by means of the sucker-fish [*Echeneis naucrates*; *gapu* (W), *gèp* (E)], instead of by the former method of employing a *kumsar* (W), *kamosar* (E).

Groggy evidently regarded this story of Barat as part of the Bomai saga, as it followed without a break his account of the migration of the six clans and of the *Nagirum le*, and *Sigarum le* to Mer. The remaining portion of the legend, which was told to me by Wanu and Baton, purported to be the story of Barat, but it may, with equal propriety, be termed 'The Introduction of the Malu Dances.'

There is a small vertical stone of volcanic ash, surmounted by a *Strombus* shell, in a garden at Kingob on Mer (pl. IV. fig. 2), which is said to represent Barat, but the connection is not obvious.

3. *The Coming of Malu, or The Introduction of the Malu Dances.*

Malu came in the canoe with the *Sigarum le*, and when they and the *Nagirum le* arrived at Giar¹, on Dauar, they anchored and slept.

They asked the Dauar men where Bomai stopped. All the Dauar men said, "Bomai he stop at Las"; and they added that they would know where he was as at that place all the coco-nuts were red.

The canoes went to Werbadu, on Mer, and the men asked Ger, who lived there, to give them some water. He gave them some to drink, and the *Nagirum le* gave him a large turtle, *nam*. Then they sat on the beach, and beat their drums, and sang the *Bomai wed* (sacred Bomai songs).

They said to Ger, "Where is father?" ("*Baba nade*?" meaning Bomai). Ger replied, "You fellow see where all coco-nuts are red, there father stop."

The men then went to Er and saw Barat², they asked him to show them where there was some water, and he showed them the water in Erpat, and after they had drunk some, they sat down, beat their drums, and sang the *Bomai wed*, which they taught to Barat, and they gave him a moderate-sized turtle. They said to him, "Barat, where father he stop?" Barat replied, "Father he stop where all the coco-nuts are red."

The men went out in their canoes over the reef at Wabkek, and saw the red coco-nut trees, so they went towards Las and landed at Dam. All the men at Dam came to the canoes and took the *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le* ashore and spread mats upon which the strangers sat down. The Dam men went into the bush to get food to give

¹ One informant said that the men went first to Deiau on Mer (probably he should have said Begegiz), then they went to Dauar, thence to Waier, and finally once more to Mer.

² The following is the version given to me by Enoka. Some of the canoes went to Wemer pit, but some stopped at Er, and asked Sorkar (Surkar or Sarkar), "Where Bomai?" Him he say, "Bomai go, stop at Las; coco-nut, *mair-u*, belong Bomai red paint; you stop there." Sorkar gave them some water. The *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le* gave Sorkar a small turtle, *mergai*. They all danced and sang, and beat the *warup*, drum, and when they had finished they went away. Sorkar and Barat seem to be one and the same person. Sorkar is also a fish-charm (see Magic); he is represented by a stone on a cairn at the beach at Er (pl. I. fig. 1), the flat oblong perforated stone leaning against the cairn is said to be the stone anchor of one of the canoes that came in search of Bomai.

to them. The mats were arranged in a row and the men of each clan sat on their respective mats in this order: *Omai le*, *Daumer le*, *Geregere le*, *Zagareb*, *Beizum boai*, *Wazwaz*. The Las and Dam men continually gave food and water to the visitors, who stayed for so long a time, that at last their hosts grumbled and said, "Why do they not give us a dance? We give them food all the time, and our shoulders are sore with carrying the food." Then the visitors consulted together, and all the members of each clan returned to their several canoes, where, out of sight of the Murray Islanders, they painted and decorated themselves. On their return to the sand-beach outside the village of Las they danced in the following order.

The *Omai le* were dressed up as dogs, and imitated their ways, they landed, gave a single dance, and then remained in one place.

The *Daumer le* landed, mimicked the behaviour of Torres Straits pigeons in a single dance, and then remained in one place.

The *Geregere le* landed, danced by imitating the birds after which they were named, and then remained in one place.

The *Zagareb* landed and jumped, two men beat the two sacred Malu drums, "*wasikor*" (pl. XVII. fig. 1) and "*nemau*," the other men had clubs; they sang their sacred songs.



FIG. 12. The Malu shark placed on the logs.

The *Beizum boai* landed and danced and called out "ba ba ba."

The *Wazwaz* did the same.

The *Tami leb* and the *Zogo le* came, dressed in the way that was subsequently copied and perpetuated, the latter wearing the *zogo kadik* (pl. XVII. fig. 2), and thus for the first time in Mer was performed this ceremony¹.

The *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le* 'yarned' and said, "This *ginar* (dance) belong you, belong Bomai and Malu."

Malu stopped in the canoe off Dam. The *Nagirum le*, and some say the *Sigarum le* also, speared him in the back, so that the point of the spear, *teg tut*, came out on the other side, and his entrails fell out—these they kept; then they threw him into the sea, and he was a shark, but before that, when he was in the canoe, he was a man with a shark's head.

A Las man took charge of him, and brought him to the shore, and placed him on two coco-nut logs which were laid crosswise on two others; large clam shells, *miskor*, were placed on the ground at the ends of the logs (fig. 12).

All the *Miriam le* collected a great quantity of food and left it in one place and

¹ These were subsequently employed in all the Malu ceremonies; *nemau* was burnt in later years by the crew of the "Woodlark"; but *wasikor* is still in Mer.

said to the *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le*, "Here is food for you"; and they replied, "To-morrow morning we go back to Masig, Aurid, Paremar, Waraber, Tutu, Yam, and Nagir." All went back.

One informant said that Tagai saw Malu close to deep water and took him to Dam where he placed him (the shark) across two logs of *ubar* wood at the ends of which the four *miskor* were placed. Pasi informed me that a *Nagirum le* man speared Malu with a canoe-pole, and threw him in the sea. Tagai picked up Malu on the reef at low water, and placed him on two coco-nut trunks, and put four *miskor* at their ends.

This is the most important of the Miriam legends as it narrates the origin of the famous and sacred Malu cult. It was extraordinarily difficult to obtain a connected and intelligible account of the series of events herein narrated, and I cannot feel confident that I have recorded the whole story. There are many minor variations in the accounts given by various informants, some of which I suspect are the versions that belong, so-to-speak, to certain localities or persons.

As mentioned on p. 66 of Vol. v., there is a culture-hero cycle in Torres Straits which accounts for the hero cults of Yam, Aurid, Masig and Mer. I have previously given a very imperfect account of the origin of the combined totem and hero shrines of Sigai and Maiau or Yam. The Aurid and Masig legends are unrecorded and are probably lost for ever. The Miriam myth is here recorded as fully as possible.

The cycle deals with the history of certain brothers of unknown origin. One version makes them come from Tuger in New Guinea, evidently this is the country of the dreaded head-hunting Tugeri, somewhere west of the Netherlands—British boundary. Another version brings them from Muralug, and the Yam version (v. 64) gives them a southern origin. On the whole a New Guinea origin seems more probable than one affected by Australian influence, but on the other hand one must not forget the undoubted Australian affinities of the great Kwoiam (v. 80, 81). The story of this warrior has, however, less of the supernatural than has that of the Malu cycle. Bomai is protean in his metamorphoses; on one occasion it appears as if the canoe into which he was changed gave birth to two men, who thereafter ranked as "brothers" to Bomai; but this is matched by the birth of a large sea-snake from Sigai and of various animals from Maiau (v. 66).

I am afraid we are never likely to find out to what all this points. The only suggestion I can offer is that a migration of some sort took place from New Guinea to Mer through the Western Islands; it does not appear to have been a movement of conquest or aggression as there are no indications of strife. All we hear of is the wandering of certain culture-heroes, who severally established themselves on certain islands, and they or their followers introduced a new cult which considerably modified the antecedent totemism. The syncretism that appears to have occurred at Yam seems to be manifest also in Mer.

An interesting question is raised as to the nature of the movement indicated by the spread of this hero-cult. Among the Western Islanders there are several tales of culture-heroes who teach improved methods of cultivation like Zawar (v. 36) or improved methods of fishing like Bia (v. 44) who, by-the-by, went to Muralug and

taught the people there. But what is more to the point, Naga and Waiat (v. 48) introduced certain death-dances from New Guinea to Daru, and Naga visited Uga, an Eastern Island near Erub, and then Tutu where he instructed the men how to perform the death-dances. Probably it was the same Naga who was the master of ceremonies in Nagir (v. 49), and Waiat of Mabuiag went to Nagir for religious instruction. Tabu (v. 55) went from Nagir to Muralug where he introduced dances in which masks were employed. Kari (v. 55) danced from Daudai to the Tugeri country. There appears to have been great willingness on the part of the islanders to learn new sacred dances and as great a readiness on the part of their instructors to teach them. The Islanders were undoubtedly originally in a totemic stage of social and religious culture—perhaps this was on the wane among the Eastern Islanders, if not among the Western, before the movement under discussion arose. A hero-cult with masked performers and elaborate dances spread from the mainland of New Guinea to the adjacent islands; part of this movement seems to have been associated with a funeral ritual that emphasised a life after death. The new cults possessed then two elements of strength: individualism, and the assurance of immortality. In secular life, mother-right had almost totally disappeared before father-right, and chieftainship was emerging (v. 265—7). A religion that replaced the indefinite communal association of a totem with its clan, by a definite personal relation with a super-human individual, appeared from abroad at this critical juncture, and it was no wonder that it spread, being carried from island to island. The social effect of the new religion would be to weld together the participants irrespective of totemic clans, and hence a national life would result from a national religion. The exuberance of social life thus induced would, under certain circumstances, manifest itself in fighting, and thus it is not surprising that in Yam, Sigai and Maiau assisted their followers mainly in fighting. The Yam-Tutu people were as a matter of fact noted for their aggressiveness, indeed the European name of the latter island is Warrior Island. These islands are situated in the very middle of the Torres Straits so there were plenty of neighbours with whom to quarrel or make friends. Mer was so isolated that it had comparatively few relations with the islands to the west, and here the hero-cult developed on different lines.

But the Bomai-Malu cult was not the only religious influence from the west. Most of the funeral ceremonies and many sacred songs admittedly came from the west. This does not look like a conquest by force, and so far as our information goes there is not the slightest trace in tradition or elsewhere of secular aggression.

An interesting parallel to these hero-cults of Torres Straits occurred also in Fiji. The people of Viti-Levu are divided into two groups, the Kai Veisina and the Kai Rukuruku, who trace their descent from Veisina and Rukuruku, who drifted across the Big Ocean and taught to the people the cult associated with the large stone enclosures, *Nanga*. Veisina arrived first, and where he landed the turmeric plant sprang up, and where Rukuruku first placed his foot the candle-nut grew. Their followers paint themselves respectively with the yellow or black pigments obtained from these plants. When they landed they said, "Let us go to the Chief of Vitongo and ask him to divide his men between us that we may teach them the *Nanga*, for which purpose we have come

to Fiji." The last sentence points to a definite propaganda, and one is almost tempted to suggest that a similar movement may also have taken place in Torres Straits. ("The Nanga of Viti-Levu," by A. B. Joske, *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnogr.* II., 1889, p. 258.)

There are several parallels between the Bomai legends of Mer and the Yam-Tutu legend; for example, the heroes readily transformed themselves into animals; on arrival at their final destination they were discovered by women who informed their husbands that they had found something remarkable; and they preferred certain kinds of mats to sit upon.

As is pointed out elsewhere, I regard the numerous stones of Western origin in Mer, that were associated with various *zogo* and shrines, as belonging, on the whole, to an older stratum of culture than that now under consideration.

19. THE NAM ZOGO.

[Compiled from various accounts.]

Two brothers, named Wakai and Kuskus, who were the headmen of Babud, sent round word that they wanted to go turtle-fishing at Kerget sand-bank. A number of Komet men and Babud men and two Erub (Darnley Island) men who were there, volunteered, and immediately got their canoes ready, and loaded them with food, bamboo and coco-nut water vessels, mats and firewood.

On arriving at Kerget they took everything out of the canoes and hauled them on to the sand-bank, and made a shelter over the canoes, with the mats.

The men looked about for turtle, but could not find any: they walked round the sand-bank, but could not find any: they looked out to sea, but could not find any.

On the sand-bank was a *Nam zogo*¹, and a man named Maiwer went to it and said, "What kind of fashion belong you two? We fellow come, we no get turtle: you two fellows no savvy we fellow we got no meat": and he abused the *Nam zogo*, saying, "You no sorry, you bad; you no good, I don't know what kind you two are."

The two *Nam zogo*, who are like *mar*, or *lamar*, that is spirits, told the turtle to copulate in the sea², and all the turtle came, they were "fast," and they floated on the sea: the sea was full of turtle.

The men looked out to sea and cried, "All turtle be fast now," and they launched a canoe, into which all the men got, and they paddled out to sea. Each of the two men in the bow fastened a rope to his right upper arm, in order that the rest of the crew might pull him into the canoe when one had seized the male, and the other the female turtle. Two turtles floated by, and lifted up their heads and looked the two men in the face and then sank. The crew paddled on, and two other men tied on the ropes and went to the bow of the canoe. The same pair of turtles floated by again and looked the two men in the face and dived again into the sea. The same thing happened time after time, until all the men had gone forward except

¹ Apparently the *zogo* consisted of effigies of a male and female turtle.

² When the turtle copulate, or are "fast" as the natives express it, they float on the surface of the sea, and are readily caught.

Maiwer, who was steering. The men said to him, "Maiwer, you only are left. We all try: we think turtle no want us to catch them. Good thing you try; we all got bad luck."

Maiwer went forward and tied a rope round his arm and stood up in the bow. The men paddled towards the floating turtles: they looked up and saw the face of the man who had talked to the *zogo*. They put down their heads but remained floating on the water. Maiwer jumped into the sea and caught hold of the female turtle by her back, and she sank down, carrying Maiwer with her. The male turtle swam away, but came back and fastened himself on the back of the man, and took the rope off his arm. Thus was Maiwer held tightly between the two turtles¹. They dived, and the three came up to the surface, but Maiwer could not free himself, so he called out to his friends, "You fellow help me. What matter you fellow?" They dived down again and a third turtle joined itself to the others.

When they came up to the surface Maiwer again called out for help: but the men were afraid.

The turtles sank down and were joined by a fourth one, with Maiwer in the middle of them all.

When they came up to the surface once more, the half-drowned Maiwer called out, "All you fellow my friend, help me! I close up die!" They sank, but when they came up to the surface again, Maiwer did not talk: he was dead.

The turtle rubbed all the skin off his body and limbs. (This state was described as 'no skin, all meat: his skin like you fellow skin, he white body now.') The turtle took Maiwer to Garboi, a reef to windward of Mazeb kaur (Bramble Cay), and left his remains in the middle of the bush.

The canoe returned to Kerget and the men cried, and when they had finished Wakai and Kuskus said; "You and me start now for Mer. No good we stop, we lose one man." So they made ready and started.

At sundown they stopped at a dangerous reef², and speared some small fish. Black clouds gathered from the north-west and the wind blew fiercely, and all the men cried out that it would be best to make for the shelter of the big reef, Marirar, and anchor there, for they were afraid of the storm.

They anchored all their canoes, and at sundown the rain poured and the wind blew, and everyone was afraid. The anchor-ropes of all the canoes broke except that of the canoe of Wakai and Kuskus, which was very strong and was made of *sireb*³. They called out to the other men, "All you fellow come and stand-by canoe of we two, and make fast to stern," and they made fast their canoes to the two ropes of the canoe of the two brothers.

The men kept watch and could not sleep on account of the wind and the rain. At last, in the middle of the night, the rope of the brothers' canoe snapped, and Kuskus called out, "Brother, my rope broke, more better we go back to sand-bank." So, without raising the masts, they put up a short mat-sail and started for Kerget,

¹ One informant said, "I think him (the turtles) *lamar* (spirits)."

² One informant thus described it, "reef got bad place, Wabilet Giaulet, all same *zogo* reef."

³ *Entada scandens*, the Queensland Bean, a climbing, leguminous plant.

which they missed in the dark. The men in the various canoes went any way they could, they all tried to save themselves.

At daybreak Wakai and Kuskus and the men of the other canoes found themselves close to Garboi, and one shouted out, "Garboi right ahead!" The wind was fair, so they fetched Garboi, and hauled the canoe ashore.

There were plenty of bushes on the island, but no water, and the men were very thirsty; they cooked and ate a number of fish and lay down on the sand, and the sand burned them. There was a dead calm and the sun shone with a fierce heat. The men put mats over their canoes to screen them and they lay in the shade with swollen parched tongues. They caught a turtle and made a framework¹ under which they lit a fire and on which they boiled the turtle with sea water, in its own shell.

The friend of Maiwer walked about the island and came across the remains of the drowned man: by this time the flesh had disappeared and there was no odour. He picked up the bones and put them all in order in one place. When the body was duly laid out he cried to himself as he was very sorry, and then he said to the bones of Maiwer, "Before you no die, you my good friend, well friend you help me. It was your fault, you scolded *Nam zogo*, so you come here. I find your bones. You feel sorry for me. I got plenty food and turtle, I hard up for water. If you good friend belong me, well, you find me water."

Then he returned to the canoes and taking a piece of wood for a pillow, he went to sleep on the sand under the shadow of a canoe.

Maiwer came to him, in the guise of a *kriskris* bird² which flew on the top of the canoe and hopped about, and, as it were in a dream, Maiwer³ spoke to him and said, "My friend you and me stop together before I die, I left you because the turtle killed me, I come to Garboi, I look this place, I very glad it nice place. You talk to me my friend and ask me for water. This place got water, I can show you. You sorry for me when I in water, I sorry for you now. You walk about, water here close to you, some grass belong sand cover over water-hole, grass and pumice, like fence, water underneath⁴. You can't find it. Suppose you get up, you follow me, I go first, you come behind. Breakfast time and dinner time you fellow drink, you leave it in afternoon, no fellow go in afternoon, other times (that is, except morning and evening) two *Nam zogo* come and make water red⁵."

Maiwer's friend opened his eyes and got up and saw the *kriskris*, which hopped and stood still and hopped again: then the *kriskris* flew into the bush and the man followed it, and as he went he broke twigs as marks, as he did not want to lose his way.

¹ I think four men named Guni, Akodan, Kokòb and Mauki made this framework or *paier*.

² A cuckoo, *Chrysococcyx lucidus*.

³ One informant said that the *kriskris* made a chattering noise like the knocking of teeth together, which I have been told is the manner in which spirits talk: and Maiwer no longer appeared as bird, but resumed his human form.

⁴ The vegetated sand-banks of Torres Straits are more or less overgrown with a rank grass, and innumerable pieces of pumice are scattered all over the islets.

⁵ Another version was: "You no find water! He close to small stone, bush on top. You no drink at high tide, then two fellow come. Only drink at low tide. No drink all day or harm come to you."

The bird flew down into a water-hole, chirping "kris, kris," but the man could not see that there was a water-hole there, as the grass and pumice covered it over. The man walked over it and his two feet sunk into the water, then he sat down, removed the grass and pumice and 'drink, drink'; then he exclaimed, "My word! that friend belong me, I find him water." He returned by the same way that he came, and saw Wakai and Kuskus and all his friends lying asleep and he felt sorry for them, 'they half-tight, hard up for water.'

He returned to the canoe and took some red earth that comes from New Guinea and painted his belly with it and rubbed black ashes over the rest of his body: he made a belt with rope from the canoe and took some cassowary feathers from the ornaments of the canoe and stuck them into the belt behind¹, and taking a small *ezer*² shell, he hopped about like his bird-friend. And as he danced, he awakened his companions and called out to them, he felt so strong, "You fellow get up and eat turtle meat, we go to Mer now. You fellow get up. What make you sick?"

A man heard him and lifted up his head and said, "What good him? What for that fellow flash (decorated)? He talk about eat turtle. When the wind come, we go to Mer." And he lay down again. The men could do nothing but lie down, they were so 'hungry for water.'

Maiwer's friend awakened all the men and persuaded them to follow him; so they got up, and when they had rubbed all the sand off their bodies, he took them to the water-hole. They said to him, "You good friend belong we fellow now you show us water-hole." He said, "I got water from friend belong me, I tell you fellow," and then he told them how that the *kriskris* had said that they must not drink the water during the day; they might drink in the morning and evening, but not in the afternoon. He ended by saying, "the *lamar* (spirit), told me about two thing I no savvy; we watch him."

After the men had drunk their fill, they returned to the canoes and ate the turtle and yarned. Wakai and Kuskus said they should all make wooden human figures, with carved faces; this they did, all of them fashioning their images in a crouching attitude with their elbows resting on their knees and their forearms raised vertically, and each man put his own name on to the image he had carved³.

When this was done Wakai and Kuskus said they would return the next day to Mer: so they filled their bamboo and coco-nut water-vessels with water from the water-hole, and made ready their canoes. When they had finished they went to sleep.

Next morning they went all over the island to hunt for turtle: they found some, and turned them over on their backs and hauled them back to the canoes and there was one for each canoe.

In the afternoon they all said they would go to the water-hole to see what would happen, and they took a mat with them and a long wooden skewer.

When the two *Nam zogo* came into the water-hole to make it red, the men seized

¹ I was definitely told that the decoration was in imitation of the bird.

² Melon or baler shell, Melo diadema. This shell is used as a pan, cooking vessel, receptacle for water, etc.

³ I think that Kokôp and Mauki cut down the tree which supplied the wood for the images.

them, and wrapping the mat round them, skewered it securely and carried them off and put them in the stern of Wakai's canoe. They slept.

Next morning they hauled their canoes into the sea and shipped their gear and turtles, and a fair wind carried them to Kerget where they passed that night. The next day they fetched Mer.

An old woman named Irado, who lived by herself at Tomaba, between Werbadu and Terker, went to dig in the soil at Werbadu pit and found a rope-like root. She dug and dug and could not find any tubers, so she followed the root across the island, over the hill of Zaumo, or Zaum paser, and down the centre of the island through Korkar to the hill behind Kop and Babud, and there she found the clusters of tubers. She was now very hot and tired and she put down her basket, and sat down herself, and she saw the Kòmet and Babud women sitting on the seashore, bewailing their menfolk, believing them to be lost. And they cried over the things belonging to the men, as they prepared the funeral feast and made ready for the death-dance.

Irado looked out to sea and espied the canoes returning, and she called out to the Kòmet and Babud women:

"Eud Meaurem waba kimiar ra nar tabarki."

Dead Meaurem your husbands' boats are coming out.

(Or, as it was freely translated to me, "Hi! You fellows, stop your mourning! All the canoes are coming from deep water.") "You see them?" the women shouted in return, "Yes, they are coming now."

The women ran down into the sea to wash off the grey mud, with which they had besmeared themselves and despoiled themselves of the rest of their mourning gear. Then they went into the bush to get food for their men and they cooked it at Babud. It was fine weather now. Irado picked up her basket and came down to the beach.

The first canoe landed at Meaurem: the crew put a paddle in the beach and when they had found a long stone they pulled out the paddle and stuck up the stone in the hole. Each crew did the same on landing. No one said anything about the fate of Maiwer.

The men sat on the mats that had been laid down for them, and their women-folk brought them food.

The wife of Maiwer looked round in vain for her man: by-and-by Maiwer's friend said to her, "You have lost your man, the turtles killed him." She wept, and all his relations cried too.

After they had finished eating, the Erub men, who were with the others, asked to have a *zogo*. All the Meaurem (Kòmet Meaurem and Meauremra Babud) said, "Come on you and me go," and they went up into the bush, but left the Erub men below on the beach. They took the mat containing the *Nam zogo* and hung it up in a tree, and the blood of the *zogo* ran down. They took two old and very long coco-nuts and inserted some red *wez* (croton) leaves into the opening of the husk of the nuts and carried them down to the beach and gave them to the Erub men, saying,

"This *agud*, *Nam zogo*, belongs to you two fellow. When you return to Erub they will help you to catch turtle. The men in the bow are to pole the canoe, those at the stern are to paddle. One man must look out well. One man must dive for turtle and the other men have to pull him up by the rope fastened to his arm. This is *zogo tonar* (i.e. *zogo* fashion)."

The following day the men gave food to the Erub men and the day after that the Erub men returned home.

The Meaurem and Kòmet men made a house, *pelak*, in the bush between Babud and Mek for the *zogo*, which remained there.

A stone top in the Cambridge Museum with a red border round the edge, has two figures in red and blue, which were said to represent Wakai and Kuskus (fig. 13).

The *zogo* were represented by two turtles made of turtle shell. The *Nam zogo* were not only effectual in helping men to catch turtle, but they could kill men, and also make them well. When a man was ill his friends would go outside the house and say to them, "Well, you two fellow make so-and-so better."

Even quite recently, people have wished to summons before a magistrate others, who, they asserted, 'made *Nam zogo*' (that is performed the requisite ritual or ceremony at the spot where the *Nam zogo pelak* formerly stood), for the purpose of preventing those against whom they had a spite from catching any turtle.

Irado is such an important person that she deserves further mention. She was not born of a woman but grew out of the earth at a place called Zuz-giri, a rocky, broken piece of ground which lies between Werbadu and Terker. Her fame rests on her discovering the root called *ketai* which is a greatly prized variety of yam, the tubers of which are similar in size and shape to potatoes. The roots of the *ketai* are called *teb* and the clusters of tubers *mot*. There are two varieties, the wild and the cultivated. When digging the tubers the original, or parent tuber, is never disturbed, but yearly the new tubers are dug away from it. It is believed that the parent tuber is everlasting and will keep on producing new tubers for ever if not injured in any way. The original tuber is called *apu ketai*, "mother *ketai*," and the new tubers are called *werem ketai*, "children of the *ketai*." It is believed it was owing to Irado having sprung from the soil that she knew where to find the root of the *ketai* and was able to follow it up for such a long distance; no mortal could have done so. *Werbadu pit* is also called *Ketai pit* as it is the *giz ged*, or place of origin, from which the *ketai* originally sprang.

Great stress is laid on the words that Irado called out to the women at Kop and Babud. Putting the word *eud* in the call is said to be *Iradora mer* 'Irado's talk'; there was no reason for so doing, it was merely her particular form of expression.



FIG. 13. Tracing of a top in the Cambridge Museum, $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

Irado had the form of a woman, but had no husband nor children. When she arrived at Kop, she settled down there and eventually turned herself into the stone that stands behind that village (pl. IV. fig. 1), the stone beside the upright one is her basket.

There is no *zogo* connected with Irado, but the stone is *lu babat*, as it is revered for its antiquity. Irado is not connected with the neighbouring *Nam zogo*.

Tales about People.

20. DISCOVERY OF THE USE OF COCO-NUTS AS FOOD.

"At Mergar (on Mer) there lived a man named Gedori. One day, seeing that the coco-nut trees had increased very rapidly, he determined to cut some of them down, as he was not aware of their value. One of the nuts rolled into the sea, where it floated about, bobbing up and down. Gedori, thinking it a fish, speared it, the three prongs of the fish-spear penetrating the holes at the base of the nut. When he found it was only a nut he threw it angrily down, and the nut was broken open. Seeing the white kernel inside, he wondered if it was good to eat; and scraping a little off, he threw it on the ground, where the ants soon devoured it. Seeing that, he then tasted a little himself, and, finding it palatable, soon devoured the whole nut. He then reported the matter to the other natives, who were at first sceptical; but on seeing Gedori eat it without apparent harm, they all followed suit, and soon the coco-nut became one of their chief dishes."

This tale was collected by the Rev. A. E. Hunt (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. 1898, p. 17); it is somewhat similar to the tale published in Vol. v. p. 103, and like it purports to describe the occasion of the first eating of a coco-nut. A version of this tale occurs in the Pasi MS., but Mr Ray was unable to make a satisfactory translation of it. Gedo, as Pasi writes it, or perhaps more correctly Gedò, gave the scrapings of the coco-nut first to ants, *iserum*, and then to many dogs, before he ventured to taste it; then finding it edible "he made *zogo* and tied on a *potowak*," which, from its name, may be a belt decorated with opercula.

It is worthy of note that among the Eastern and Western Islanders there is a story of the discovery of the coco-nut as an edible fruit by an ordinary individual. In this connection it is interesting to find that whilst the home of the genus to which the coco-nut palm belongs is in America, the palm (*Cocos nucifera*) has been carried around the world through the agencies of man and the currents of the oceans, originally "perhaps," as Dr H. B. Guppy says (*Observations of a Naturalist in the Pacific*, Vol. II., *Plant Dispersal*, p. 413), "as a gift brought by the Equatorial Current from the New World to Asia." It has been disputed whether coco-nuts cast up by the sea on the shore can germinate; in 1889 a coco-nut that had grown in Mer in this manner was pointed out to me by some natives as a remarkable sight, and Dr Guppy (*l.c.* p. 436) adduces several examples from Fiji. But according to the legends of Sida (p. 21 and v. 28), that culture-hero, who from his miraculous birth (v. 35, 36) was connected with coco-nuts and other food plants, introduced coco-nuts into Mer; on the other hand, Yarwar (v. 37) and Gelam (v. 39) are also reputed to have taken coco-nuts to Mer.

21. KAPERKAPER, THE CANNIBAL.

There was an old woman named Kaperkaper who lived on the hill at Babud; and in the bush to windward, that is to the south-east, lived a widow named Kiar who had several daughters.

One day Kiar went out of her house and walked about a little bit, then, seeing it was low tide, she told her daughters to go on to the dried reef to spear fish. So they took baskets and fish-spears, *baur*, and went to the reef. When they came to the sand-beach they took off their petticoats and left them there. They caught some stone-fish and after some time they began to feel cold and as they had caught enough fish they thought they would go home; by this time they had wandered as far as Babud and when they came to the sand-beach there they sent back Seskip, the youngest of the sisters, to fetch all the petticoats they had left behind. She did so and put them all on herself.

In the meantime Kaperkaper came out of her house at Babud; the sun was then setting and it was rapidly growing dark, and she said to the girls, "Won't you come in and sleep in the house; it is getting dark now?" They agreed and went into the house and she told them not to put a leg outside the house. When they were all fast asleep Kaperkaper brought some fire into the house and put all the girls on the fire, after having taken a louse [from the head of one of them] and thrown it away. She ate up all the girls¹, but put their bones on one side. When Seskip came to the house she was so frightened at what she saw, that she hid herself.

Kiar sought her girls and came to Kaperkaper's house and killed her by prodding her with a fish-spear. Then she found the louse² and said, "Alloa! you killed my girls—you put down the louse here and I found it." She then collected the bones of her daughters and put them all in due order in one place, next she obtained some green tree-ants (*soni*) and put them beside the bones³ and the girls came back to life, and they sat down and chatted quietly ('talk small talk'). When Seskip came out of hiding and rejoined her sisters there was great talking ('got big talk'). Kiar took all her girls and went home.

Kaperkaper was represented by a stone effigy at Babud which is now in the Cambridge Collection (pl. VI. figs. 5, 6). It is a female figure, 410 mm. in height, well carved in vesicular lava. The head, which is absent, has long been broken off, as the fracture is old. The clavicles are indicated. The arms are flexed so that the hands meet on the chest. The feet are apposed with soles together in middle line in front. On the back of the figure a median groove indicates the vertebral column; the scapulæ are indicated and the hips are prominent. *Kaperkaper* is also the name of the plant *Abrus precatorius*, the seeds of which are known as Crab's eyes, and *Seskip* is the name of the Turbo shell.

¹ The only other record of cannibalism in the Folk-Tales occurs in the story of Nageg and Geigi.

² Although my informant did not say so, there is no doubt that when Kiar found the louse it informed her what had happened, and probably advised her what steps she should take to recover her daughters. For divination with a louse see the tale of Nageg and Geigi, p. 17.

³ Cf. the similar incident in the tale of Nageg and Geigi, p. 18.

22. MOKEIS, THE GREEDY MAN.

[Compiled from two versions given to Mr Ray by Pasi (27), cf. Vol. III., p. 242.]

Several men wished to go fishing in their canoes, but they did not want Mokeis, who was a very greedy man, to go with them. They told him he was like a large fish-scoop, *weres*, from the quantity he devoured, and it was because he wanted so much food to eat that they did not wish to take him in their canoes. He went to one man named Bi and said to him, "You take me." Bi said to him, "You just stop here, we know what you are like." He then went and said to Serar, "We go?" Serar said to him, "You just stop here, we know your sort." Then he asked Gobi, "Shall we go?" Gobi said to him, "You just stop here." Next he asked Pilauar, "Do we go?" Pilauar said to him, "You just stop here, we know what you are."

So Mokeis was left standing alone on the beach as the canoes sailed away to Koaipet in the deep water, and he was vexed at what had been said to him. He said, "We will smash up Bi's canoe and eat the men and finish them; we will smash up Serar's canoe and eat the men and finish them; we will smash up Gobi's canoe and eat the men and finish them; we will smash up Pilauar's canoe and eat the men and finish them." 'This was talk of Mokeis.'

Mokeis turned himself into a whale and went out into deep water. He swam to where the canoes were; one was drifting quietly on the water, resting upon its two outriggers, he broke the floats of the outriggers and the canoe turned over and that whale ate the men and finished them; and one after the other he broke each canoe and ate the men and finished them. 'Enough, thus ends the story of Mokeis.'

Comic Tale.

23. MARKEP AND SARKEP.

Two middle-aged bachelors named Markep and Sarkep lived at Waperered on Kebi Dauar.

One day, as they looked out from their house on the hill, they saw a number of young girls (*Ti neur*) in the sea and on the shore at Teg, playing at a game called *koko*¹.

They said to each other, "There are some fine girls playing there, it would be very nice if we could get some for wives," and they agreed that one of the brothers should attempt to get some of the girls and bring them to the house.

Markep said he would dress himself up as an old widow and would bring some of them back with him. So he went to pluck some banana leaves, and he shredded

¹ This game, which is more fully described in Vol. iv., is played by girls, who decorate their heads with flowers and walk in the sea in a line and sing. Next they sit in a ring or semi-circle on the sand-beach and sing; at the same time they push their hands in the sand and examine them to see whether the bit of charcoal held by each one has made one or two streaks on their palms. Should there be two marks they cry out, "Ah! *Keg* (charcoal) has killed a man!" It appears to be essentially a divining game.

them to form a petticoat, and he put on armlets and anklets, such as are worn only by widows, and he rubbed his body and hair with ashes, and made himself up to look like an old widow. He also wrapped his penis with leaves, and passing it between his legs, tied it securely behind.

It was arranged that Sarkep should go to Dabai, on the other side of the island, in order to spear saw-fish (*bologor*, *Pristis*), and that he should cook the fish against Markep's return with the girls.

Markep started off to Teg with a walking-stick in his hand, and when he came where the girls could see him, he walked very slowly, and pretended to be very old and frail.

The girls looked up and saw him coming, and said to each other, "Oh! here is an old widow coming," and they ceased their play on the sand.

When Markep came up to them, he saluted them as "My grandchildren," and asked if some of them would come and help him home to his place, as he was very old and very tired. The girls talked among themselves. One said, "What did she say? You go." Another said, "No, I can't go." A third said, "Let's go together." The girls then asked how many he would like to come to help, and he said he would like four. They said, "All right," and they started off with him.

When they had gone some way, they said, "Very good, you go yourself now." But Markep pleaded with them to come right on, as his place was now quite close, and he was so tired; so the girls went on with him to his house.

When he got home, Sarkep was there, and had prepared the saw-fish.

Markep told Sarkep to catch two of the girls for his wives and he seized the other two for himself.

Two days after, Sarkep said he would like to get some more girls, and that this time he would go and get them, while Markep speared the saw-fish.

Markep then advised Sarkep what he was to do, and how he was to be sure to dress himself properly, like a widow, and to arrange his petticoat correctly, and to tie up his penis firmly, as if it were to get loose, he would frighten the girls away. Sarkep said, "All right, I will look out."

Sarkep then warned Markep how he was to set about the spearing of the saw-fish: he was to be sure not to spear any in the centre of the shoal, but only to spear the one nearest him, else when he dived to catch the one in the middle, the others would cut him up with their saws and kill him: but if he took the one nearest him, it would be all right. Markep said, "All right, I will look out good." So they both started off.

When Sarkep came near to the girls at play, they saw him and said, "Here's an old widow coming." When he came up to them he saluted them as "My good grandchildren," and asked them for help, as Markep had done.

The girls asked him how many he would like to come with him, and he said "Eight." They said, "All right," and started off with him.

When they had got well on the way, the girls told him, "Very good, we go back now, and you go on": but he entreated them to come on with him, and whilst he was pleading, his penis got too strong for the fastening and broke loose, and carried the petticoat fastening away too. The girls were very frightened at what they saw, and

ran away from Sarkep, crying out, "Ah! that is not an old woman, it is a man." And they ran back to their companions and told them what had happened, and that it was a man who was taking them away.

When Sarkep found he could not catch the girls he was very sorry, and went on to his house, where he met Markep, whose body, legs and arms were severely cut by the saw-fish.

Sarkep told him what had happened to his petticoat, and that he had not paid proper attention to Markep's instructions.

Markep told Sarkep that he on his part had forgotten what Sarkep had told him about spearing the saw-fish, and that instead of spearing the one nearest him, he had speared the one in the middle, and when diving for it, the others had cut him up¹.

And so, by not paying enough attention to the advice of his brother, one lost the girls, and the other got cut up by the saw-fish.

Markep and Sarkep are to be seen on Dauar in the form of two stones, which are supposed to be in a sitting posture on the land they formerly occupied; the former (pl. V. fig. 4) is on Billy's (Teg, 23) ground at Waperered; it is not *zogo*.

On a small heap of rounded boulders at Damid, by Ormei, in Dauar, are a few shells and a stone female figure which has lost its head (pl. V. fig. 3). This image has three deep cuts on each shoulder and three or four short ones between the breasts, and the navel is in the centre of a large four-rayed cross; these evidently represent scarifications. It represents Ziai neur, one of the *Ti neur* girls that Markep took to his home. Mr J. Bruce had an idea that she had something to do with the setting sun, as she faces south of west (*zi ai* = south-west), but the general opinion is she did nothing, and was only *lu babat*, though Billy thinks she had something to do with making and controlling wind from the west, from which quarter the wind blows only at the latter end of the year, during the north-west monsoon.

¹ This incident differs from that given in Vol. III. p. 246, but I think this is the correct version.

ABSTRACTS OF THE FOLK-TALES.

Nature Myths.

(Origin of Heavenly Bodies.)

1. TAGAI AND HIS CREW (p. 3). Tagai and his crew went fishing; when going over a reef Kareg, the mate, poled the canoe from the stern, and Tagai speared fish from the bow, the crew, Usiam and Seg, stole the captain's water, he was angry and killed the crew, who form the constellations Pleiades and Orion, while Tagai, Kareg and the canoe form another, consisting of Corvus, Crux, Centaurus, Lupus, Scorpio and others.

2. ILWEL, THE EVENING STAR (p. 4). Ilwel, the evening star, is the wife of the moon, they cohabit once a month, then quarrel and separate till the quarrel is patched up.

(Hills.)

3. PEPKER, THE HILL-MAKER (p. 5). Pepker and Ziaino had a race in hill-making. Ziaino made the small hill Kebi Dauar, and Pepker made the high Au Dauar.

(Water-holes.)

4. THE KILLING OF IRUAM (p. 5). Three single women, Deiau, Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber, lived at Mei, the moon continually tried to steal the food they cooked on the plateau. The women went to get some water, Deiau left the others and went to another water-hole where she was accosted by Iruam, who lived in the water, she ran away followed by Iruam. The three women attacked Iruam at Las where he made two water-holes, Warber and Goi, on the shore, and a lagoon, Keper, on the reef, then he took shelter in several shells and eventually turned into a stone.

5. THE TI BIRDS (p. 8). A number of maidens, of youthful appearance though very old, lived near a water-hole and had the power of turning into *ti*-birds. A very large solitary woman, Dòpeb, stole their food (*ager*, an aroid, cooked in an earth-oven). Eventually the girls killed Dòpeb and swore at her and rolled her into the sea, the body was continually cast up on the beach but eventually reached Dòpeb's village of Korog. The girls tried several times to find a new quiet spot where to reside, the existing gullies and watercourses on the hill-side testify to their vain efforts, so they returned to their old home at Lakop and all turned into mosquitos except one who retained the bird-form and guarded the water-hole; this became the place of the mosquito *zogo*.

(Rocks, Trees and Animals.)

6. STONES THAT ONCE WERE MEN (p. 11). Three men made a canoe in the bush and launched it at Las; each of them remained as a stone on certain reefs and another man took the canoe to the Great Barrier Reef and being capsized was turned into a stone.

7. KOL (p. 11). Kol and a number of men came from Zaub to Er; all are now stones.

8. KULTUT OF THE LONG ARM (p. 11). Kultut had a very long arm, and when some girls went fishing, he stole an *ager* out of their earth-oven. Next day a girl was set to watch, and the same thing happened again. The following day five girls remained hidden in the bush, and when Kultut came to steal the food, they cut off his arm at the elbow. A rude outline of a man on the beach represents Kultut, and the earth-oven and *ager* consist of a shallow depression containing a stone.

9. KIAR, WHO CUT HIS FOOT (p. 13). Kiar accidentally trod on a heap of shell-fish which he had collected on the reef at Dauar, and cut his foot very badly, he was carried to the shore and the blood spurted on the face of the cliff and made the red patches (of hæmatite) that are still there in the rock.

10. MEIDU (p. 13). Meidu, an old maid, was tidying up her place when she called out to four girls to come to her as she thought they were in the bush with four young men and threatened that they would be sick if they did not obey her. They refused, she bathed in the sea and washed her petticoat to kill the fleas; then she slept on the shore. The tide came up and washed her away in her sleep. When she awoke, she sang a lamentation and eventually stranded on Mibu, where she turned into the nut-bearing *meidu* tree, the nipa palm. The girls became three garden-lots with very red earth; two of the men who were with them were turned into fish and the other two into lizards. A stone on Dauar represents Meidu.

11. NAGEG AND GEIGI (p. 15). Nageg lived all by herself in Waier, her son, Geigi, was born after three evacuations; when very young Geigi shot various edible fish, later he speared fish. When spearing gar-fish, he saw at Teg on Dauar, Iriam Moris, an old man with a big belly, and he determined to fool him, so he turned into a king-fish and chased a shoal of small fish which Iriam Moris tried to catch; eventually Geigi was caught. Iriam Moris asked an old woman and her sons to bring firewood and utensils to cook the fish. One small boy poked the king-fish in the eye and when scolded by the man asked his mother to go home with him. Iriam Moris cut up the king-fish and cooked it and the other fish and ate it all up together with the fishing appliances and the firewood and ashes.

Nageg followed after Geigi, Iriam Moris sent her on to some boys, they said Geigi was not there, she returned to Teg and found some of Geigi's hair and blood-stains, she divined by a louse and found out what had happened, she killed Iriam Moris and extracted out of him the remains of Geigi, these she placed in order and placed a nest of green tree-ants on them and jumped over the bones, the ants entered the bones and

Geigi sprang up alive. On their way home Nageg scolded Geigi and told him he was to live in deep water as a king-fish and he said she was to live in holes in the reef as a trigger-fish. Iriam Moris is represented by a smooth stone on Dauar and there are stone relics of Nageg and Geigi on Waier.

Culture Myths.

12. POP AND KOD (p. 19). Pop and Kod regarded by some as the first settlers of Mer, came from Fly River, and went from Zaub to Er; they lived in a tree, where they made a song, but had connection on the ground, hence the first secret.

13. SIDA (p. 19). Sida came in a canoe from Daudai to the Murray Islands. At Dauar he planted a screw-pine; wherever he went on Mer, he planted bananas or screw-pines after having had connection with different women, most of whom are represented by worked stones. At one spot he defecated many shells, which accounts for their abundance on the adjacent reef. He went to see the beautiful Pekari before whom the young men of the island were dancing, Pekari and Sida slept together and coco-nuts first appeared as the result of seminal emission. Sida met Abob and Kos and sent them on a fool's errand to catch fish while he made unavailing overtures to their mother, then he stabbed her in the neck and put her in his basket; Abob and Kos followed Sida who flew in the air with the aid of some feathers of the frigate bird and they attacked him. Sida threw the mother into the sea and there resulted a reef rich in fish. Sida planted cone shells on certain sand-banks where they are still abundant and finally flew back to New Guinea.

14. GELAM (p. 23). Gelam was a youth who lived with his mother in Moa. Seeing a large number of Torres Straits pigeons in a tree he built a leafy shelter from which to shoot them; he continually gave the lean pigeons to his mother, keeping the fat ones for himself. One day his mother disguised herself as a spirit and frightened Gelam when he was in the tree, she ran home, Gelam followed and got much cut and bruised in his hurry; this happened for three days and then Gelam saw some white mud in his mother's ears and guessed what had happened. He decorated the skull of his father and prayed to it, and asked to be shown a hard wood like canoe timber. In his sleep he dreamt he heard his father give him instructions as to what to do, and a *ti* bird would sit on the tree. He did not follow out the instructions and made three unsuccessful attempts to select the proper tree for his purpose; finally the right tree was indicated by a *ti* bird and Gelam tried to cut it down but could not, so he besought the S.E. wind to help him, that called to the N.W., which called to the S.W. wind and this blew down the tree. Gelam carved a dugong out of it and called it *atwer*, which was his mother's name, and filled it with a lot of food. Next day he fooled his mother who tried to spear the dugong and he swam away and arrived at Mer: first the dugong faced north-east then it turned round and remained as the long hill, Gelam, of Murray Island.

15. ABOB AND KOS (p. 25). Two brothers, Abob and Kos, (Kudar was their mother, but they had no father), caught fish, and Abob who was annoyed at the laziness of Kos

left him and went across to Dauar. Kos followed, but having no canoe tied grass on his arms and flew out to sea and settled on Abob's canoe. At Dauar they erected stone fish-weirs and made clefts in the rocks where they could catch fish.

The Warip people of Waier caught plenty of fish by wading in a circle and spearing the frightened fish, but Gawer, a solitary woman on Dauar, was given only bones and offal; Abob and Kos wanted to kill her, but she persuaded them to avenge her. They turned into gar-fish and swam across to Waier where they killed all the Warip and beat the hill of Waier so that it was deeply fissured.

Abob and Kos returned to Murray Island and made fish-weirs. After Sida had killed their mother, they went to Erub and erected fish-weirs and made clefts in the rocks for catching fish, they also modified the language of the people. Thence they went to Uga, Damut, Tutu and Parem, in each island they changed their names and taught the people their language, finally they stopped at Kiwai.

16. HOW KAROM THE LIZARD STOLE FIRE FROM SERKAR (p. 29). Serkar, an old woman of Nagir, had an extra digit between the thumb and forefinger of each hand as all people had then; that on the right hand she employed for kindling wood. Various animals on Moa (snake, lizards and frog) wanted the fire, but only the monitor lizard could swim across. Serkar made him welcome and made a fire and cooked food for him, after feeding she quenched all the fire. At parting Serkar offered her left hand which the lizard refused, when she gave him her right hand he bit off the forefinger and swam with it to Moa. Later he brought the fire to Mer. Each man selected his tree for fire-sticks, these men still use; in one version certain trees came to see the fire and took some of it away with them, and it is from their wood men since obtained fire; and in this version the islanders (who lived near New Guinea) were men, who changed themselves into various animals.

17. AUKEM AND TERER (p. 31). Terer lived with his mother Aukem, he had no father, one day he was beating a drum while some *zogo* men near by were preparing a yam *zogo*, the drum-beating annoyed the men and was disrespectful to the *zogo*, so they sent for Terer, ostensibly to have his hair dressed, when they had prepared his hair, they half killed him and having removed his outer skin, sent him home. Aukem was very angry¹ and told him to go to Boigu, thinking him to be a ghost. He put on a mask, took a bunch of seed-rattles, and danced through the island; at Werbadu he joined some men, who played at throwing some small arrows; eventually he passed over to Dauar. Aukem followed Terer, after she had gone into mourning for him, and she carried in each hand a large human bone. Their canoes met midway to Dauar, again she scolded him and told him to go to Boigu, as he was dead. Terer danced in the canoe and dived into the sea and his mother followed him. They landed on Dauar

¹ In another version the story runs on as follows: this made Terer much ashamed, he began to dance and went to Erpat. Aukem went home to put on mourning costume. Terer went on to Werbadu, and eventually to Dauar. Later Aukem followed, and on the same day Terer thought he would like to return to Mer, the two canoes met at Kend reef. Terer dived into the sea, followed by Aukem, and both swam to Dauar. Terer told the Dauar men to beat the drum, sing the funeral song, and prepare food. Terer swam away from Dauar, and after great hesitation his mother followed him.

and went to the north-west point. Terer danced in front, Aukem followed with the bones, the men beat drums and all the people wondered. Both dived into the sea and swam to Mabuiag and Boigu and never returned.

Religious Myths.

18. THE MALU SAGA. (*The Coming of Bomai*.) (Version A., p. 33.) Bomai came from Tuger in New Guinea, and swam to Boigu as a whale, the people caught him and wanted to make a *zogo* of him: when they went to get their drums, he broke away. Then he turned into a canoe and turtle and came to Dauan and the former episode was practically repeated. Then he changed into a turtle, a canoe and dugong, and arrived at Mabuiag. Next he became a canoe and a porpoise and went to Badu. He escaped from the Badu people and turned into a canoe and arrived at Moa. As a canoe he came to Nagir, but previously changed himself into a crayfish. Again he escaped as a canoe. Sigar and Kulka were in the canoe (born from it), on arriving at Yam they anointed themselves and sat on mats; Sigar remained behind. The other two went to Masig, where Kulka remained. Bomai went towards the Murray Islands as a canoe, but it broke up and he turned into a whale, but landed as a man at Giar pit on Dauar, the men tried to keep him but he went away. As a canoe he sailed to the Great Barrier Reef and returned to Ormei in Dauar, he escaped as a canoe and landed at Ne in Waier, again he went to the Great Barrier Reef and finally sailed to Mer.

(Version B., p. 37.) Four brothers, Bomai (Malu or Malo), Seo (Sei, Seiu or Seau), Sigar and Kulka (Kolka) left their native island Muralug, each in his own canoe, and went to Tutu. Bomai misbehaved himself there. They left, anchored on a reef, and a storm drove Sigar to Yam; the others went to Aurid, where Kulka remained. Bomai and Seo went to Masig, where Seo expostulated with Bomai on his conduct and was killed by him ('Bomai, he wild, he steal women all the time, he good *zogo*'). Bomai set sail for Mer, but was wrecked and swam to Begegiz on Mer, the *Dauereb le* tried to secure him but he escaped to Giar pit on Dauar, thence he escaped to Ormei, and again to Waier and next to Ne and finally he went to Mer.

(Continuation compiled from all accounts.)

A man named Dòg and his wife Kabur lived at Aud behind Terker on Mer. Kabur was fishing on the reef at Terker when Bomai came as a canoe, then changed into drift-wood, next into a whale, a dugong and finally into an octopus (some informants give other metamorphoses) in which form he approached Kabur and embraced her, Kabur caught him and took him home and told her husband she had a *zogo*. They watched all that night and saw the octopus crawl out of the basket and transform into a man, who rubbed two shells together and walked round the island through Las to Gigo, and returned to Terker. Next morning Dòg painted and accoutred himself and carried five sticks, and Kabur also decorated herself. Dòg followed the footprints of Bomai. The Murray Islanders noticed Dòg's behaviour and suspecting something remarkable had happened, sent Dam and Samekëp, Kabur's younger brothers, to

investigate. They spent the night at Aud and they discovered the *zogo*. Next morning when Dòg walked round the island, the brothers stole Bomai, they quarrelled, but Samekëp kept the *zogo* and Dam took a drum. Dòg suspected something had gone amiss as his body did not perspire as usual; when he reached home, Kabur assured him everything was all right, but they found the *zogo* had been stolen, Dòg took his bow and arrows and a stick with sharks' teeth attached to it and went to Las. Dam and Samekëp admitted having stolen the *zogo*, eventually they made friends and the Las men were permitted to keep the *zogo*.

The Coming of Barat (p. 40). The Dog-men, Pigeon-men, *Geregere* bird-men, Shark-men, *Wazwaz* shark-men, and *Zagareb* all came from Tuger, each clan in its own canoe, to look for Bomai. They went to Boigu and followed all the wanderings of Bomai, at last they arrived at Deiau in Mer, thence they were directed to Dauar and Waier and finally again to Mer, thence they went to Moa to fetch Barat. Barat humbugged the people and tied a rope round the tail of a *kamosar* fish; then he made *puripuri* and made a sucker-fish, and wooden models of dugong, turtle and crayfish. He put an eagle's feather behind his ear and spoke to the people. He gave everyone a sucker-fish. He threw out the model crayfish and the people caught many crayfish. Then he made turtles abundant and Barat taught them how to catch them with the sucker-fish. Lastly he made dugong abundant and he taught the men how to plug its nose so as to suffocate it. The men told Barat they wanted him to go to Mer, he agreed and went in a separate canoe, which was the first to arrive at Mer, and he stopped at Er.

The Coming of Malu, or The Introduction of the Malu Dances (p. 42). Malu came in the canoe with the *Sigarum le* and when they and the *Nagirum le* arrived at Giar on Dauar they were directed to Las. They went to Werbadu and sung some *Bomai wed*. Next they went to Er and saw Barat and sang some more songs—(one version refers to Surkar or Sarkar at Er, who appears to be the same as Barat). Finally they went to Dam. The Las and Dam men entertained them for such a long time that the hosts grumbled at not receiving a dance in exchange. Then the *Omai le* gave a dog-dance, the *Daumer le* a pigeon-dance, the *Geregere le* a bird-dance, the *Zagareb le* danced and sung while two of them beat the sacred Malu drums. The *Beizam boai* and *Wazwaz le* danced. The *Tumileb* and the *Zogo le* came dressed in the way that was subsequently copied and perpetuated; and the *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le* gave the dance to the Las men. Malu, a man with a shark's head, stopped in a canoe, here he was speared and thrown overboard. A Las man brought him to the shore and made a shrine for him. The *Miriam le* gave the *Nagirum le* and *Sigarum le* a great present of food. All went back.

19. THE NAM ZOGO (p. 46). Two brothers, Wakai and Kuskus, got together a volunteer crew to go turtle-fishing at Kerget sand-bank; one of the crew, Maiwer, reviled the turtle *zogo* of Kerget for their lack of luck, the *zogo* made the turtle plentiful, but none of the men could catch any; finally Maiwer tried, but the turtle drowned him, scraped off his skin and left him on Garboi sand-bank. A great storm arose and the canoes drifted to Garboi, where the men suffered from thirst. Maiwer's bones were found

by his friend and he prayed to them, and Maiwer appeared to his friend in the form of a *kriskris* bird and told him where to find water, but he was not to go in the afternoon as then the *Nam zogo* made the water red; after drinking the friend decorated himself and danced, then he showed the water to the others; they all made wooden images and put their own names on them, they collected turtle and after they had secured the two *agud* of the *Nam zogo* they returned to Mer.

An old woman, Irado, of Mer tried to dig up a *ketai* yam, but the root was very long, she followed it all down the island till she came to the coast and looking out to sea she saw the canoes returning, she called out to the women to stop their mourning. On landing the crews erected long stones on the beach and they went into the bush and hung the *zogo* on a tree, two coco-nuts were given to the Erub men who were present and wanted a *zogo*, the coco-nuts were *agud* and would help them to catch turtle, they were also instructed in this art. The Meaurem and Kòmet men made a house for the two tortoise-shell images of turtle that constituted the *zogo* and the *Nam zogo* helped the men to catch turtle, but they could also make sick folk well and even kill people.

Irado was a woman who came out of the ground, never married or had children, was the discoverer of the *ketai* and turned into a stone.

Tales about People.

20. DISCOVERY OF THE USE OF COCO-NUTS AS FOOD (p. 52). Gedori, of Mergar in Mer, first tested the kernel of a coco-nut by giving some scrapings to ants and dogs, then he experimented on himself, and told others the nuts were good to eat.

21. KAPERKAPER, THE CANNIBAL (p. 53). A number of sisters were sent by Kiar their mother to spear fish on the reef, they took off their petticoats and left them on the beach. Towards sunset they had wandered far, so Seskip, the youngest girl, was sent back for the petticoats; in the meantime Kaperkaper invited the other girls into her house where she cooked and ate them. Kiar followed her daughters to Kaperkaper's house and a louse informed her what had happened, she killed Kaperkaper and restored her daughters to life by placing some green tree-ants in their bones. Seskip came out of hiding and all went home.

22. MOKEIS, THE GREEDY MAN (p. 54). Mokeis was so greedy that the other men would not take him in their canoes when they were going fishing: in revenge he turned himself into a whale and upset all their canoes, and ate the men up.

Comic Tale.

23. MARKEP AND SARKEP (p. 54). Markep and Sarkep, two old bachelors, saw girls playing and desired some for wives. Markep dressed himself up as an old widow and persuaded four girls to return with him. Sarkep speared a saw-fish and cooked it. They each seized two girls. Later they wanted some more girls, so Sarkep pretended to be a widow but as he did not fully obey Markep's advice he was unsuccessful and similarly Markep forgot Sarkep's instructions and was severely cut by the saw-fish. They are represented by two stones on Dauar.

II. GENEALOGIES.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE genealogical record which I was able to collect in Murray Island is far less complete than that of the islands of Mabuiag and Badu published in the fifth volume of these Reports. This was partly because it was my first essay in this, or indeed in any branch of sociology, and partly because the Murray Islanders were far more reticent about this department of their lore, so that, at any rate in some cases, I know that I was not given all the data of which my informants were in possession. Only in three cases does the record go back to the great-grandfather of a man now living and in no case to the great-great-grandfather as in several genealogies in Mabuiag.

My general method of collecting the genealogies was the same as in Mabuiag except that the material had nearly always to be obtained from one witness at a time, the Murray Islanders having a strong objection to their friends knowing that they were acting as my informants in this matter. In Mabuiag I usually worked surrounded by a crowd of people who quickly corrected any slip which might be made or supplied deficiencies in the memory of my chief informant. In Murray Island, on the other hand, it was necessary to take my assistant out of the hearing of any of his fellows, and the approach of another islander would usually put an end to the flow of information.

In this first attempt to collect the pedigrees of a people of low culture, I was extremely incredulous as to the accuracy and faithfulness of the information which I was receiving, and in consequence I collected the pedigree of nearly every family from two or more witnesses quite independently of one another. It was found, however, that there was a surprising agreement in the different accounts, and when there was disagreement it was nearly always due to misunderstanding, owing to certain difficulties to which I shall refer more fully shortly. Further, in several cases pedigrees were collected independently by Mr Ray and were found to agree with those recorded by myself, and since our departure from the island Mr Bruce has sent much information involving genealogical facts, and in nearly every case his information has confirmed the accuracy of the record obtained by myself.

The chief difficulty and source of error in Murray Island was the very great prevalence of the practice of adoption. In that island it is a common practice to adopt the child of another, sometimes even before the child is born, and it is customary

in these cases to keep the child ignorant of his real parentage. Even after such an adopted child reaches adult life he will always give the name of his adoptive father when questioned as to his parentage, and I was told, and have no reason to doubt, that in many of these cases the men were still ignorant of their real parentage. The fact of the true descent is always, however, remembered by the elders of the families concerned, even if it has been forgotten by the community at large, and, as we shall see later, the real line of descent involves certain restrictions on marriage which render it necessary that the record of it shall be preserved.

An adopted child usually belongs to the family and village of his foster-father, and for the purposes of the study of the social organisation it would probably have been best to record adoptive rather than real parentage. When, however, I began to record the pedigrees in Murray Island, I was interested chiefly in the real relationship of the people, as I hoped to discover whether those who were closely related resembled one another in their reactions to the various psychological and physiological tests to which we were subjecting the people. Having this object in view I was always careful to impress on my informants that I wanted the real parents of a child and not the names of those who had adopted him, and it seemed to me at the time that I had in most cases succeeded in obtaining the names of the real parents, though in some cases, especially far back in a pedigree, I knew that the village which I assigned to a man was his by adoption and not by real descent.

After our departure from the island I wrote to Mr Bruce to ask him for further data to supplement or verify my own, and Mr Bruce replied that he found the difficulty of ascertaining the real parentage so great that he despaired of obtaining a true record. At the same time, however, he sent a record of two lawsuits (which are given in the article "Social Organisation"), in each of which the crucial fact had been the occurrence of adoption. In these cases the evidence given by both parties was in agreement as to the fact of adoption, and I was therefore pleased to find that my record of parentage was in exact agreement with this evidence. In two cases in which my record was tested, it thus turned out to be accurate, and I believe that on the whole, at any rate in recent generations, my record is one of real parentage.

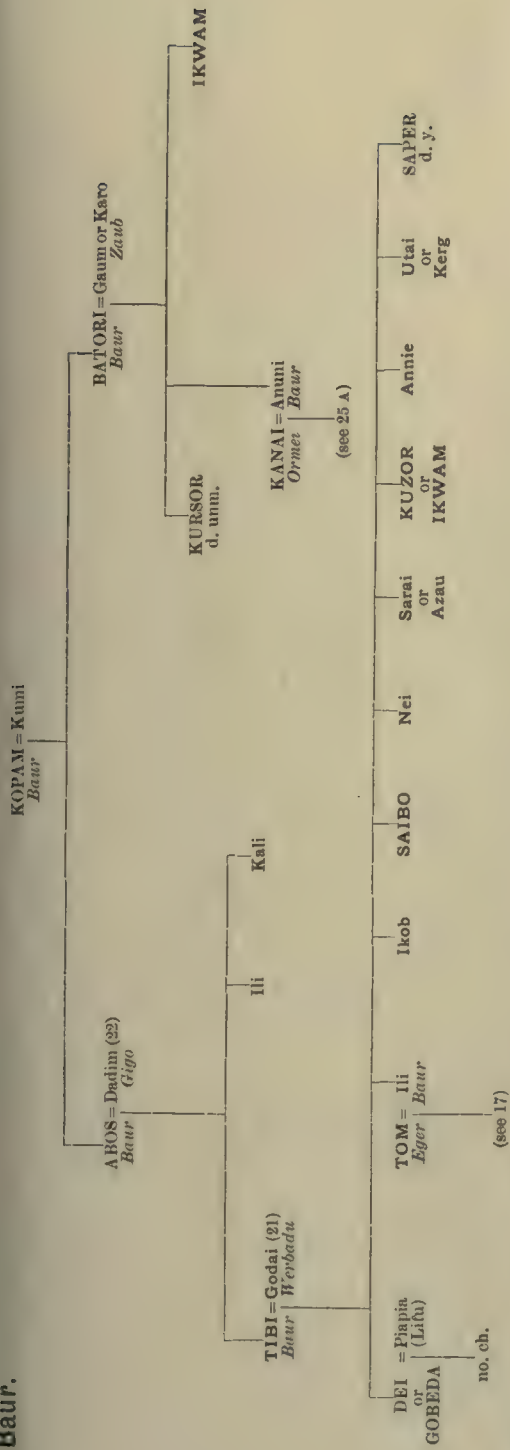
It is unfortunate that in this, my first attempt to record the pedigrees of a people, there should have been so complicating a factor. If I had the chance of repeating the investigation, I should record both real and adoptive parentage in every case of adoption. We shall see later that there are restrictions on marriage dependent on both real descent and on that by adoption, and such a record would not only enable us to tell whether these two kinds of restriction are observed in practice, but would probably also explain certain infractions of marriage law which seem to have occurred.

A difficulty of less importance in recording the pedigrees arose from the fact that every Murray Islander has many names. Several apparent discrepancies of evidence turned out to be due to the fact that different informants had used different names for the same person.

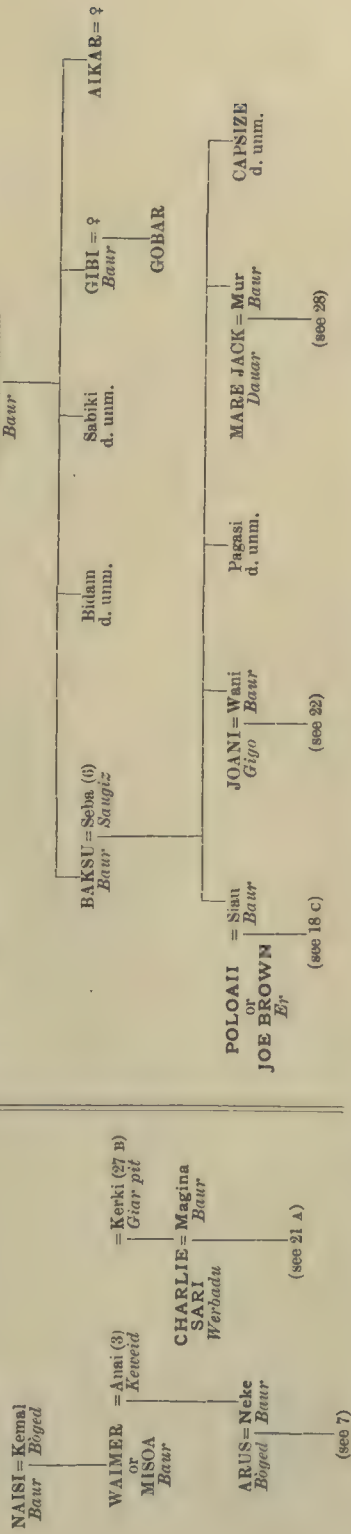
In the general arrangement of the genealogies, for which I am indebted for much help to Miss A. Hingston, I have followed the same plan as in the genealogies of the Western Tribe. The names of men are given in CAPITAL letters, those of women in lower-case type, and the names of men are always to the left of those of their wives. The names of those people who are now living, or rather were living at the time of our visit, are given in **Clarendon** type, of which **TIBI** and **Godai** in Table 1 are examples. The abbreviations "d. y." and "d. unm." stand for "died young" and "died unmarried," the latter applying to those cases in which the person in question had reached a marriageable age at the time of death; "no ch." stands for "no children." When children are derived from a union which was not regarded by the islanders as a marriage, the names of the father and mother are connected by a single line instead of the double line customarily used to represent the fact of marriage. Cases of polygyny are indicated by the use of square brackets surrounding the names of the wives. The names in italics standing under the names of men or women are those of the villages to which they belong, the basis of social organisation in Murray Island being the village and not the totemic clan as among the Western Islanders. In those cases in which natives of the Murray Islands have married people from other islands or of other races, the names of these islands or races are in lower-case type and enclosed in round brackets.

Owing to the fact that the social system of the Miriam is territorial, it has been possible to arrange the genealogies in a definite order. The pedigrees of the people of Mer are given first, and are arranged according to the order of the villages in going round the island, and then follow the pedigrees of the people of Dauar and Waier.

1. Baur.

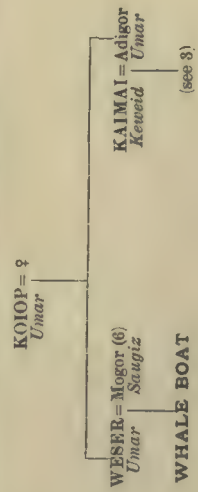


1. A. Baur.

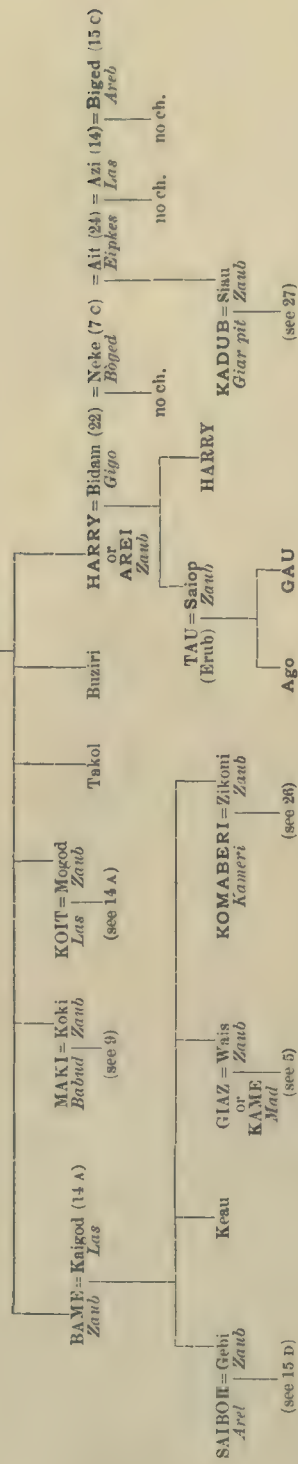


1. B. Baur.

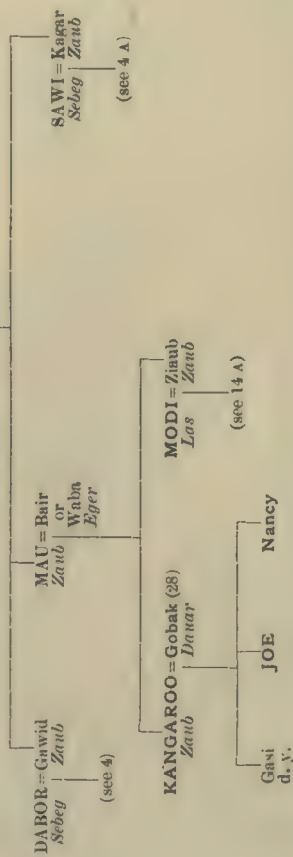
1. C. Umar.



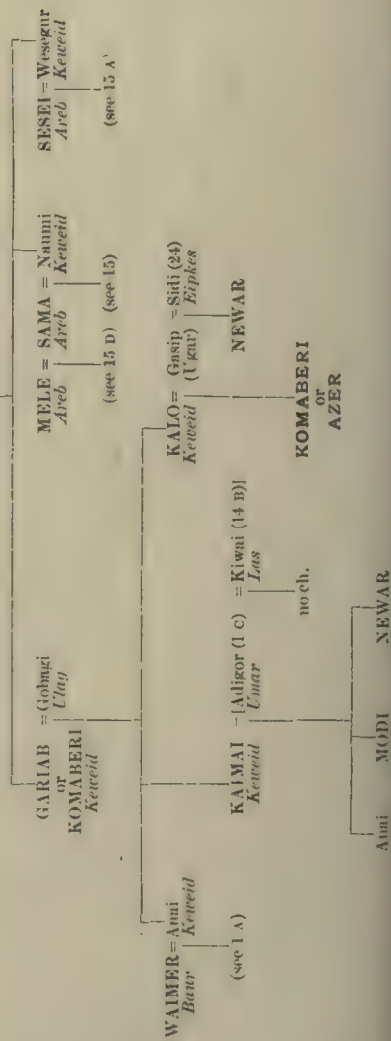
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Zaub | Ved



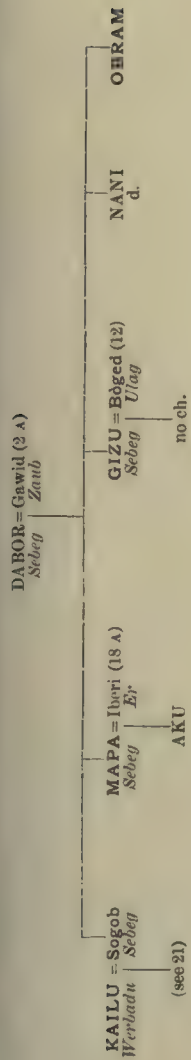
APAP=Awaii
Zaub |



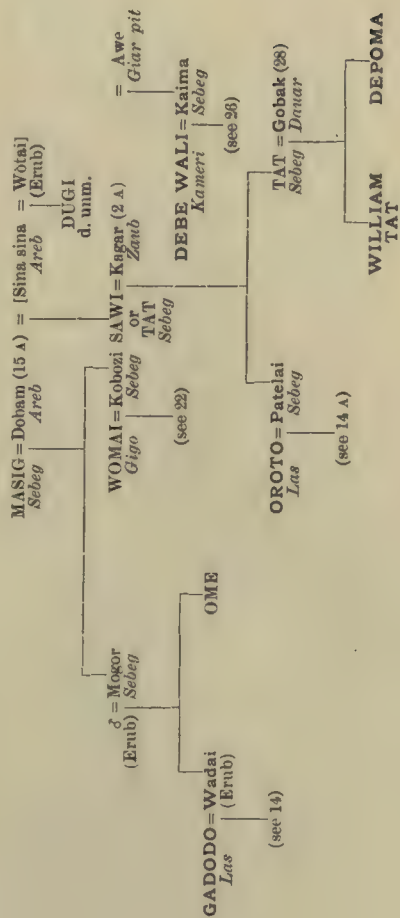
KAIDAM = ♀
Keroid



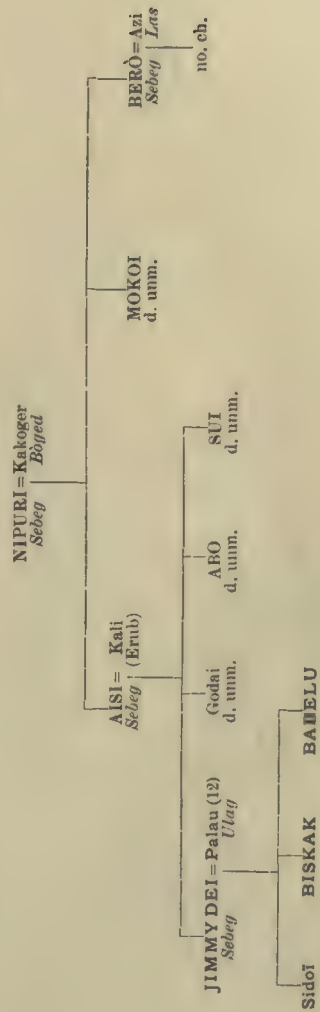
4. Sebeg.



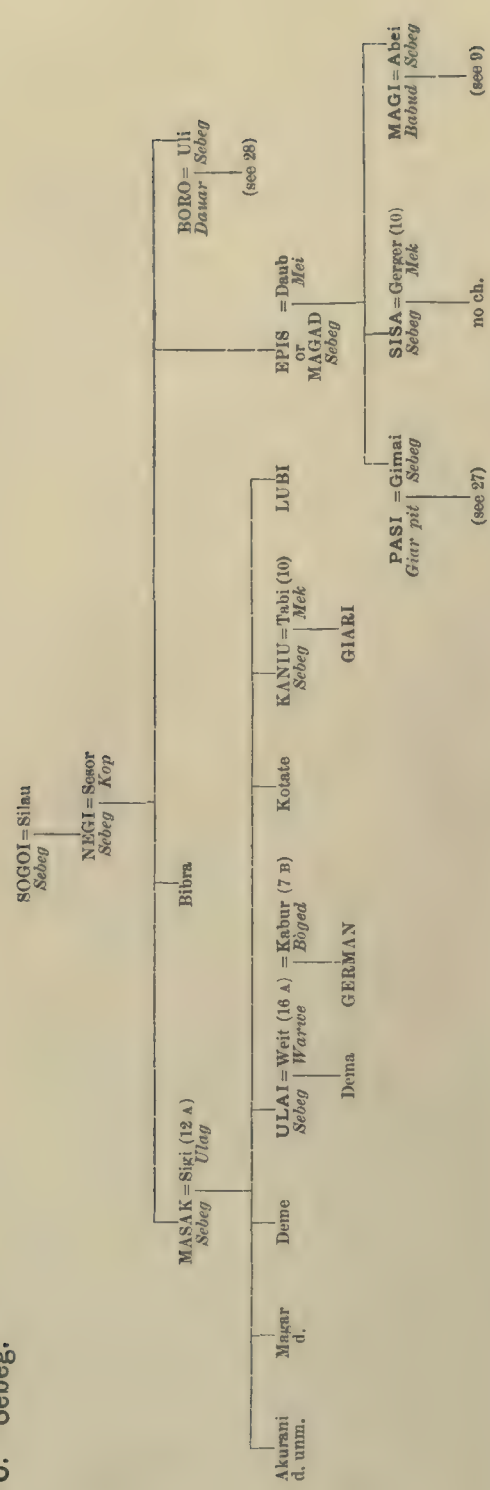
4. A. Sebeg.



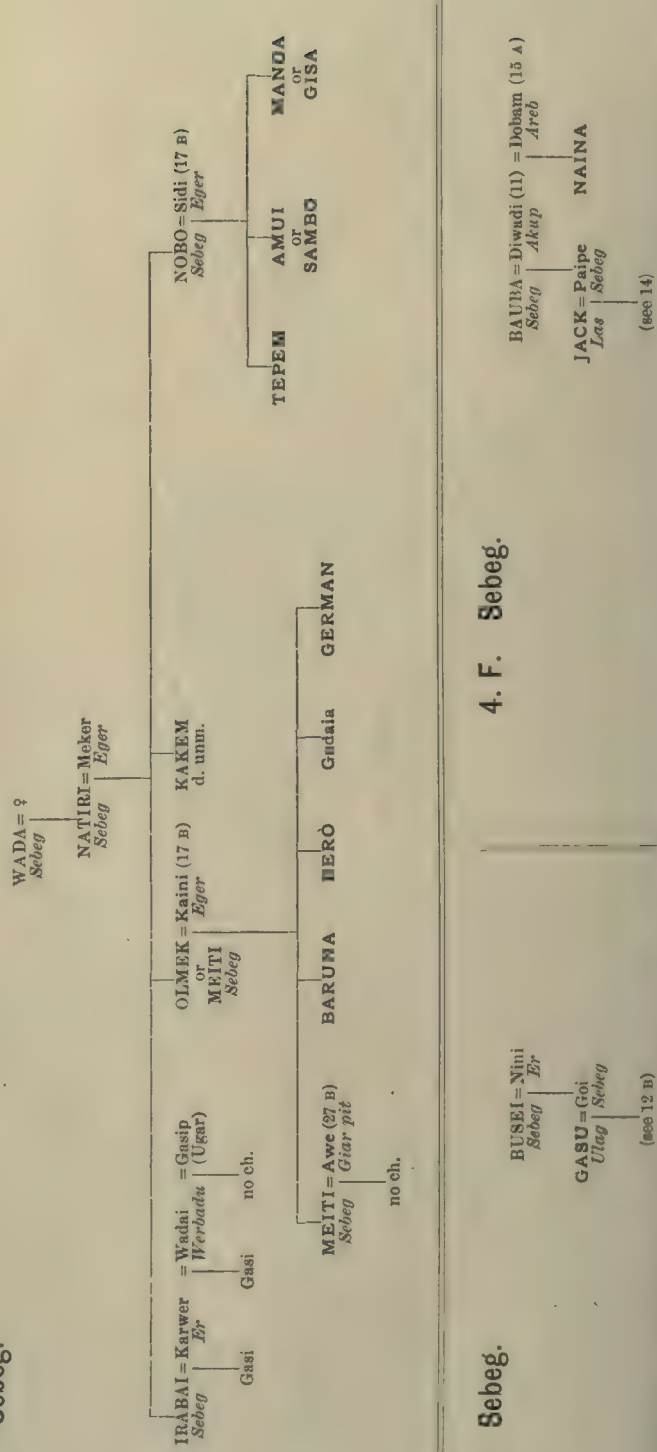
4. B. Sebeg.



4. C. Sebeg.



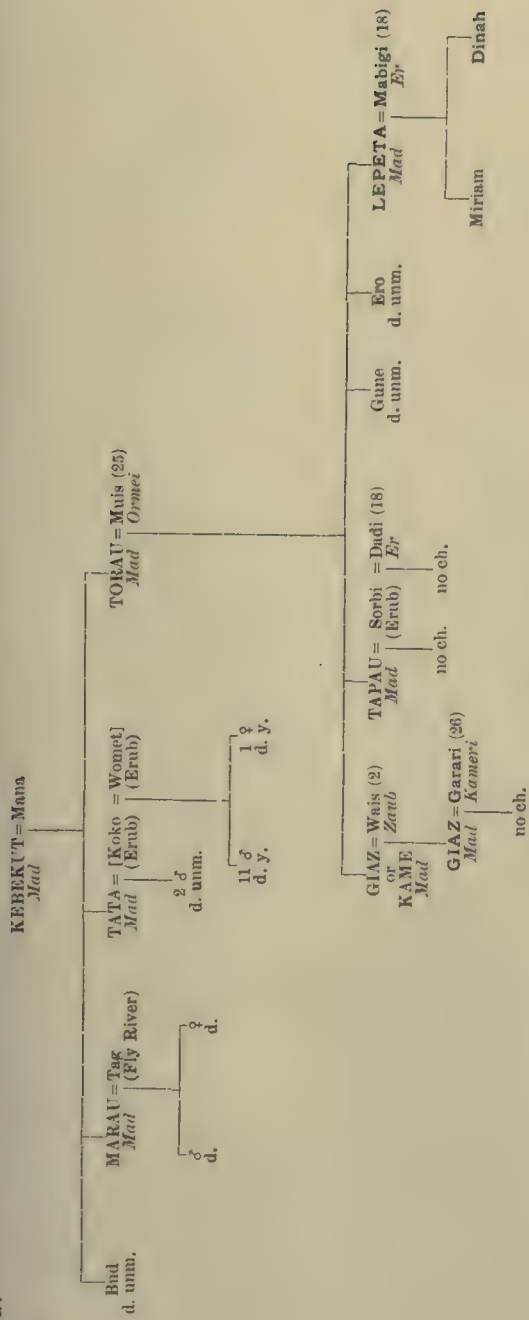
4. D. Sebeg.



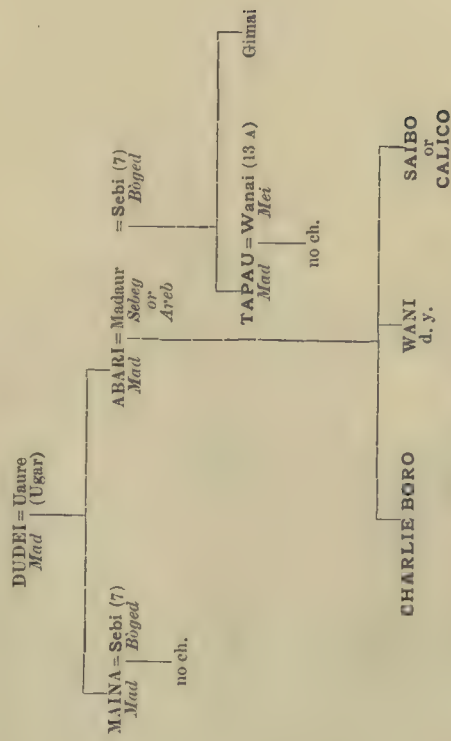
4. E. Sebeg.

4. F. Sebeg.

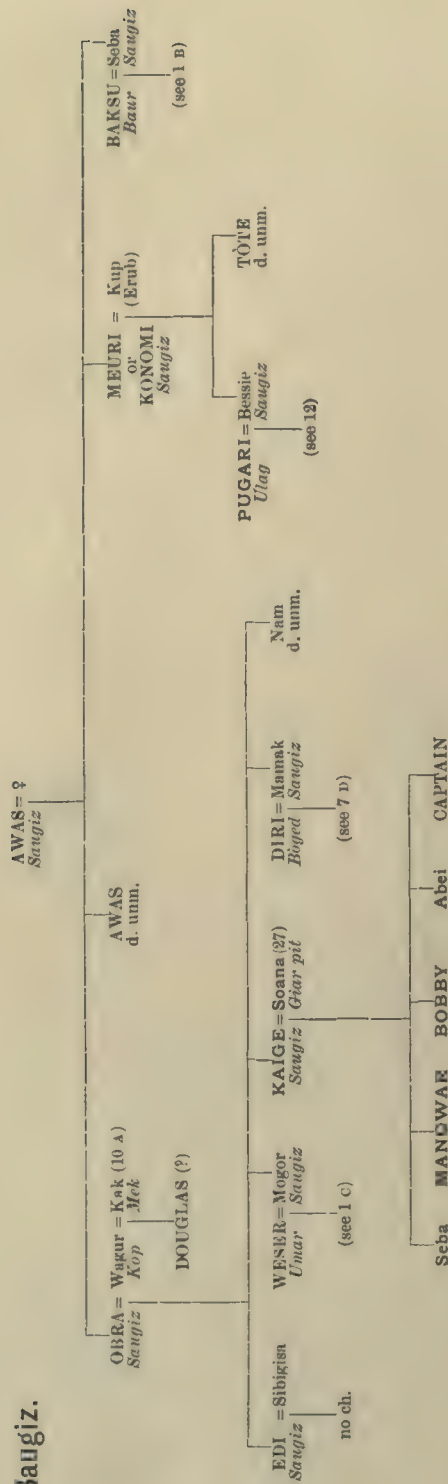
5. Mad.



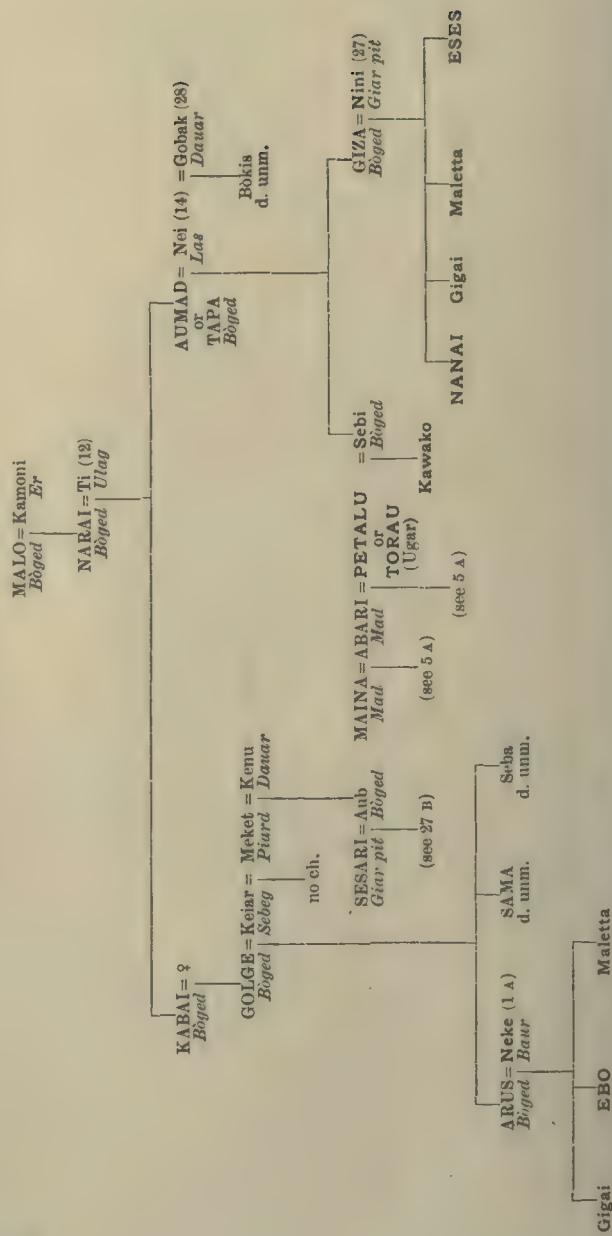
5. A. Mad.



6. Saugiz.

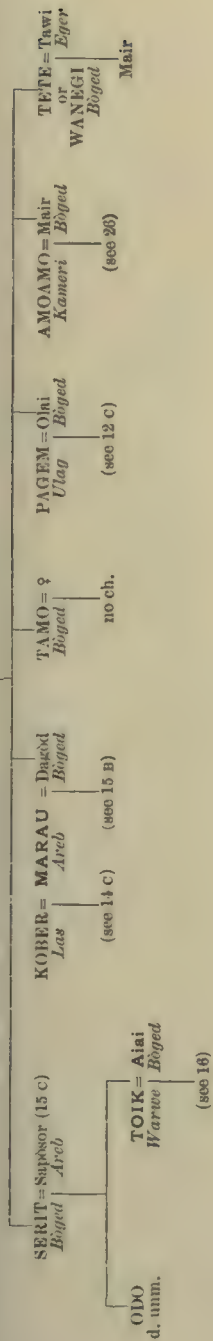


7. Bòged.



7. A. Bòged.

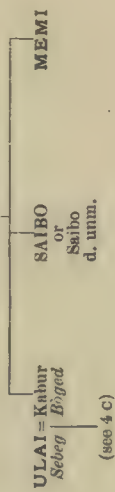
ODORO = Oksdi
Bòged Werbadu



H. Vol. VI.

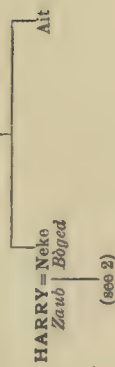
7. B. Bòged.

BARIGUD = Kup
Bòged Zomared



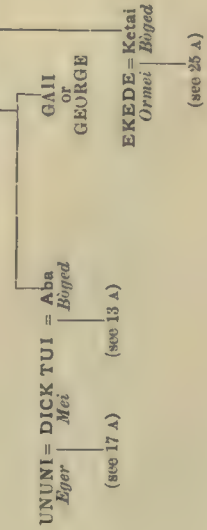
7. C. Bòged.

TAROA = Koori
Bòged Erub



7. D. Bòged.

DIRI = Soker = Mamak (6)
Bòged Erub Saugiz

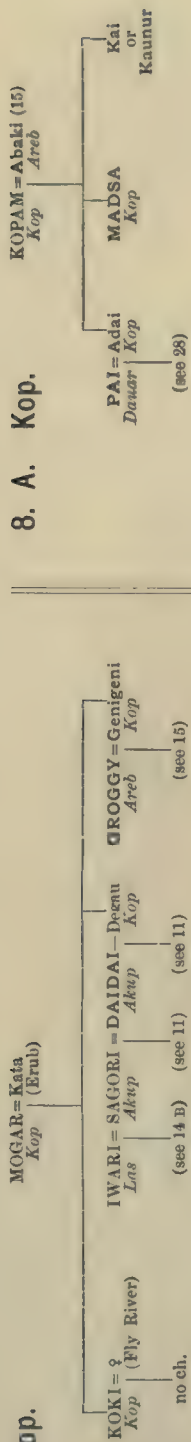


7. E. Bòged.

SAKAUBER = Bazi
Bòged Ormei

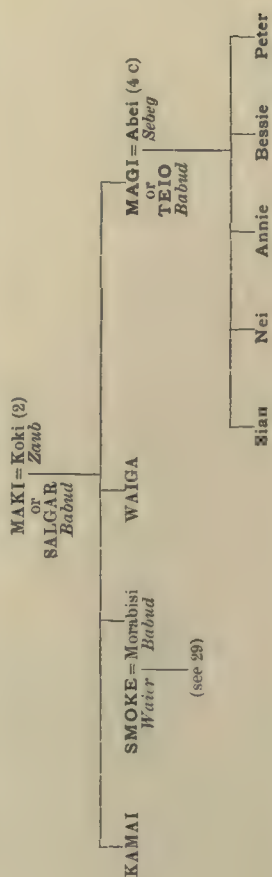
ESKI = Saiba
Las Bòged (see 14)

8. Kop.

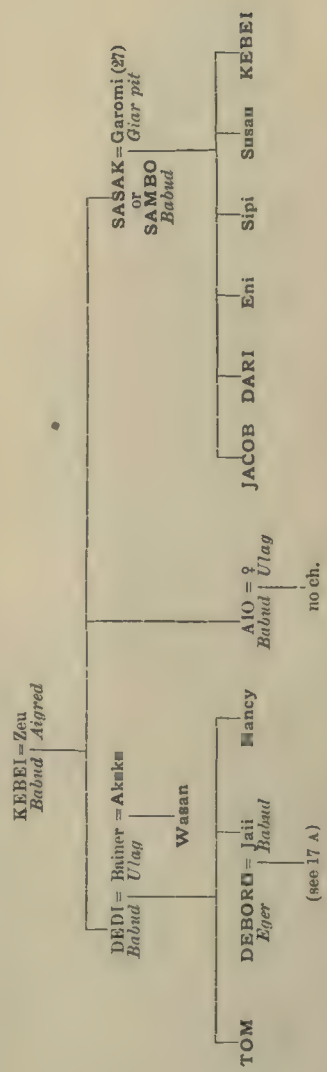


8. A. Kop.

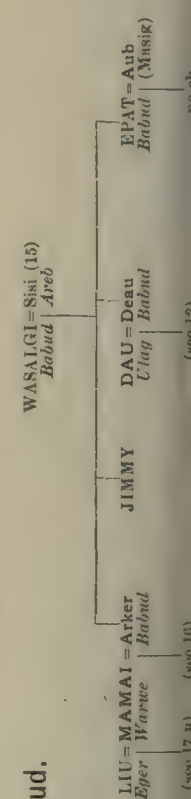
9. Babud.



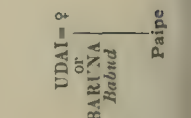
9. A. Babud.



9. B. Babud.

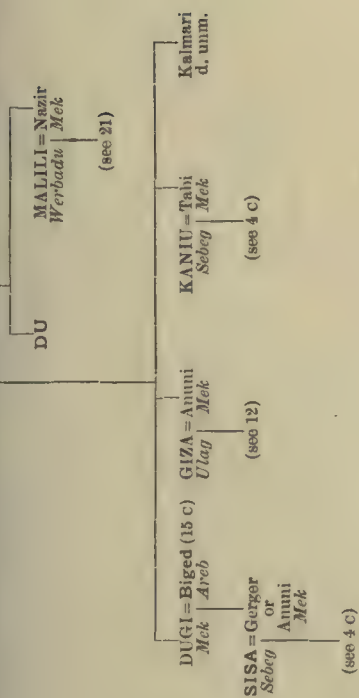


9. C. Babud.



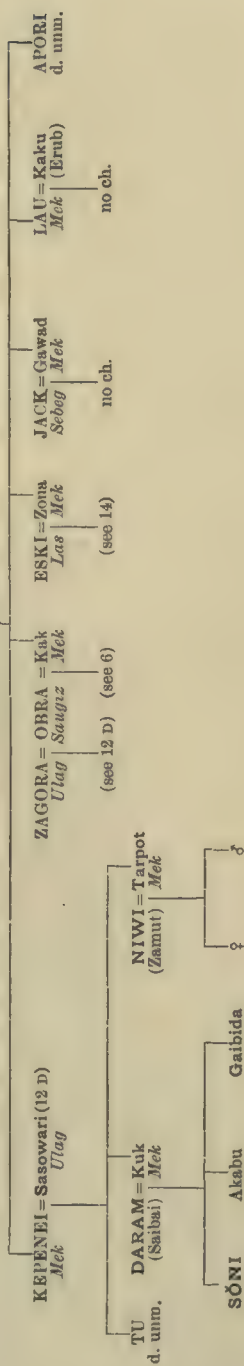
Werbadu (Erub)

Mek



10. A. Mek.

GAIDAN = Gur
Mek (Erub)



10. B. Wed.

WAMO = Bulewer
Wed Las

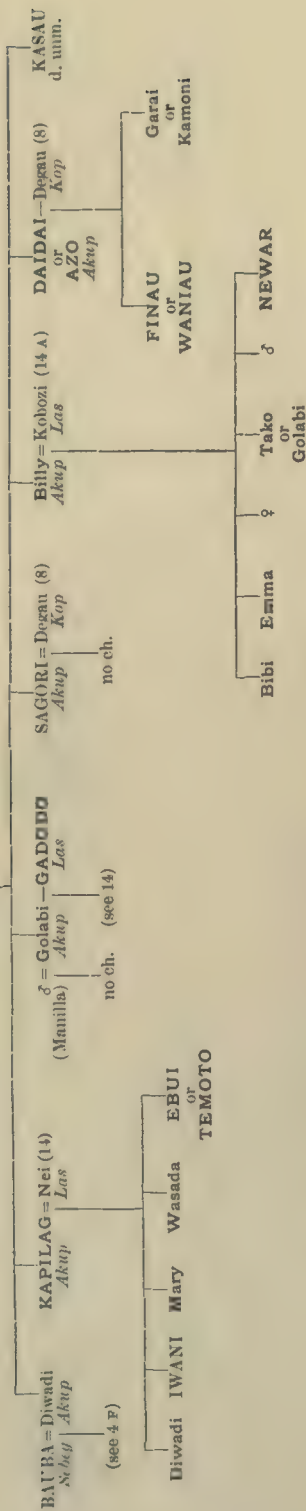
ANO = Mera
Zaub Wed

(see 2)

11. Akup.

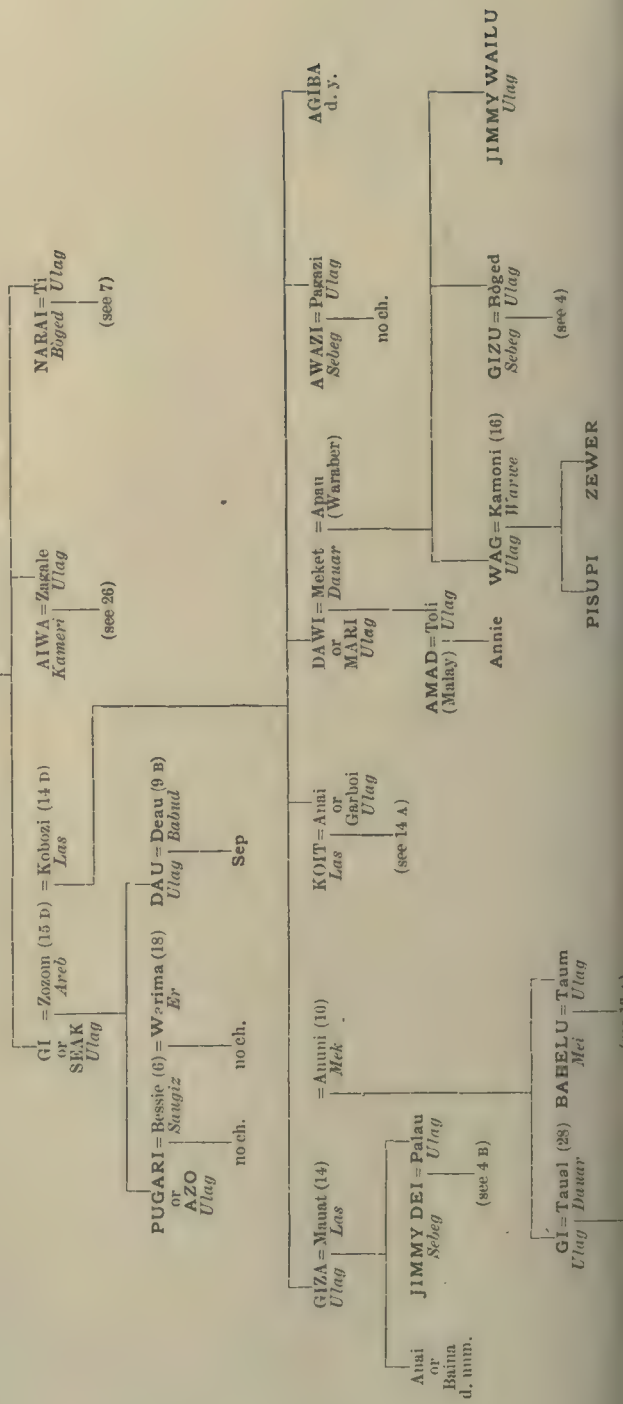
EBA = Kuris (25)

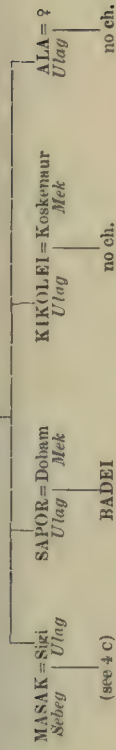
or
MATUL
Akup



12. Ulag.

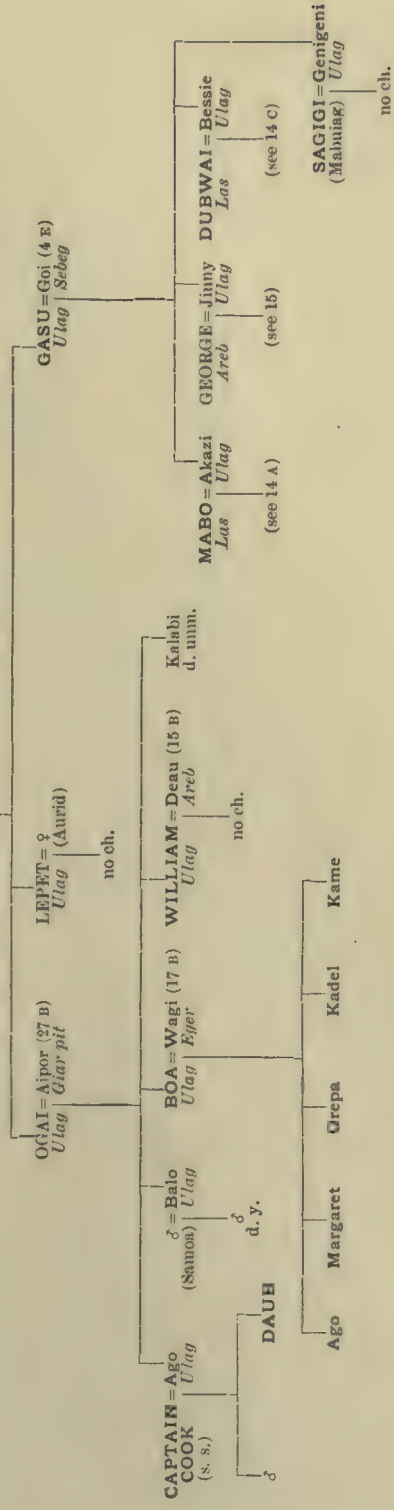
MADI = Mangol
Ulag





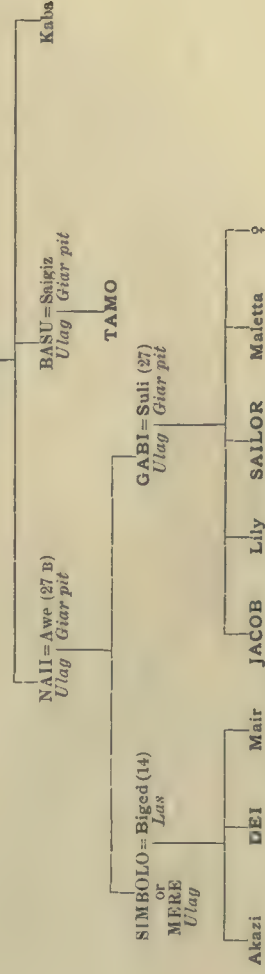
12. B. Ulag.

MAII = Tubu
Ulag Kop

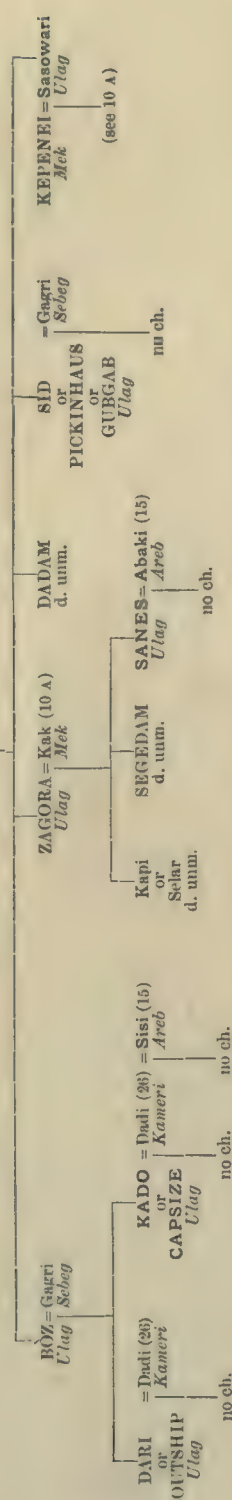


12. C. Ulag.

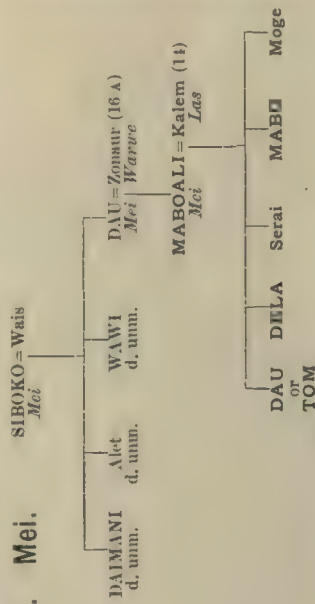
PAGEM = Ohsi (7 A)
or
NAII Boged
Ulag



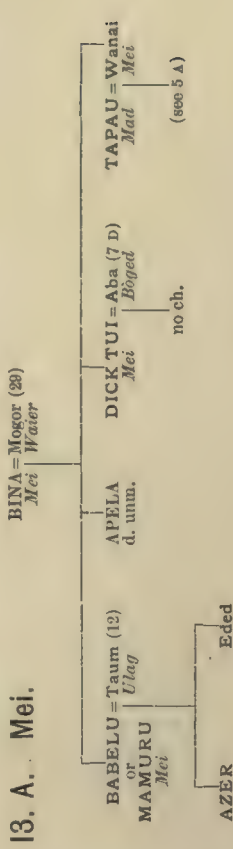
12. D. Ulag.



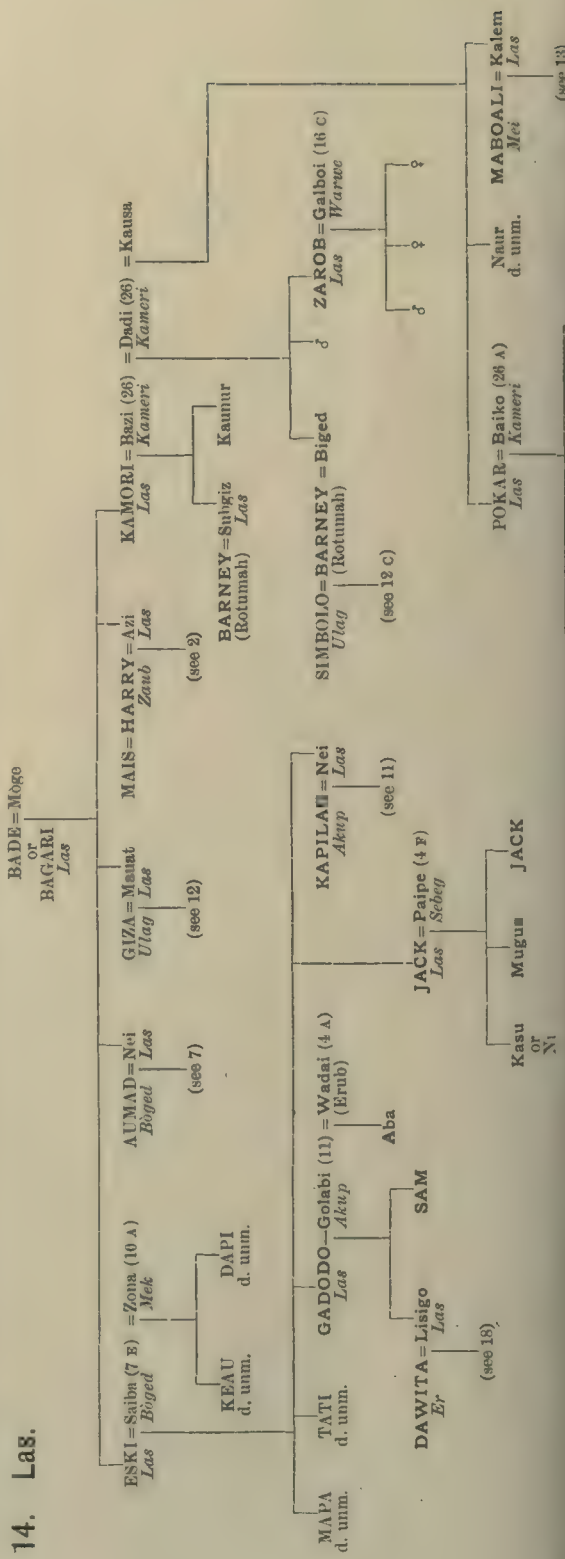
13. Mei.

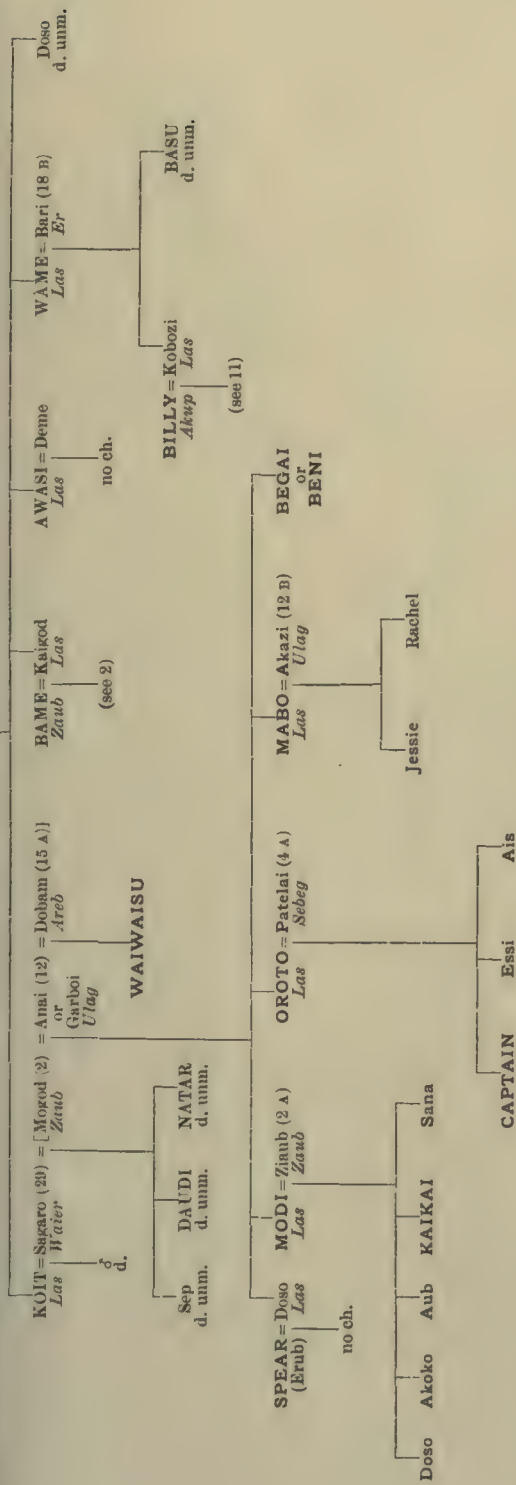


13. A. Mei.

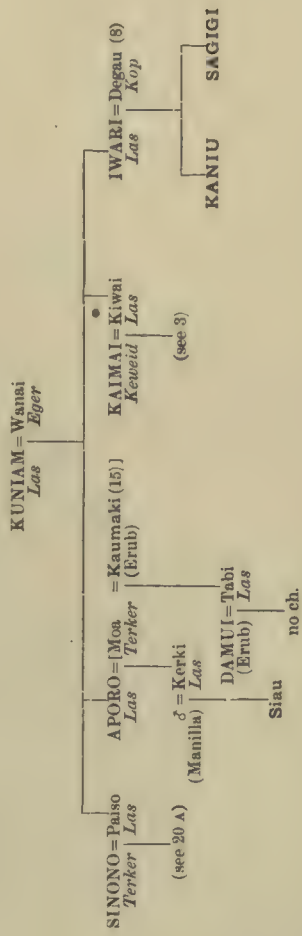


14. Las.

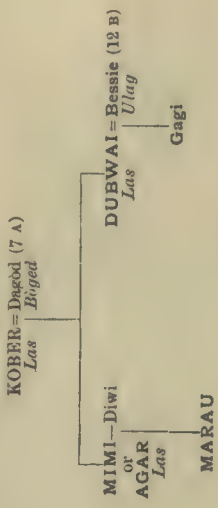




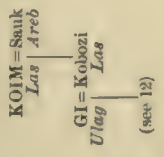
14. B. Las.

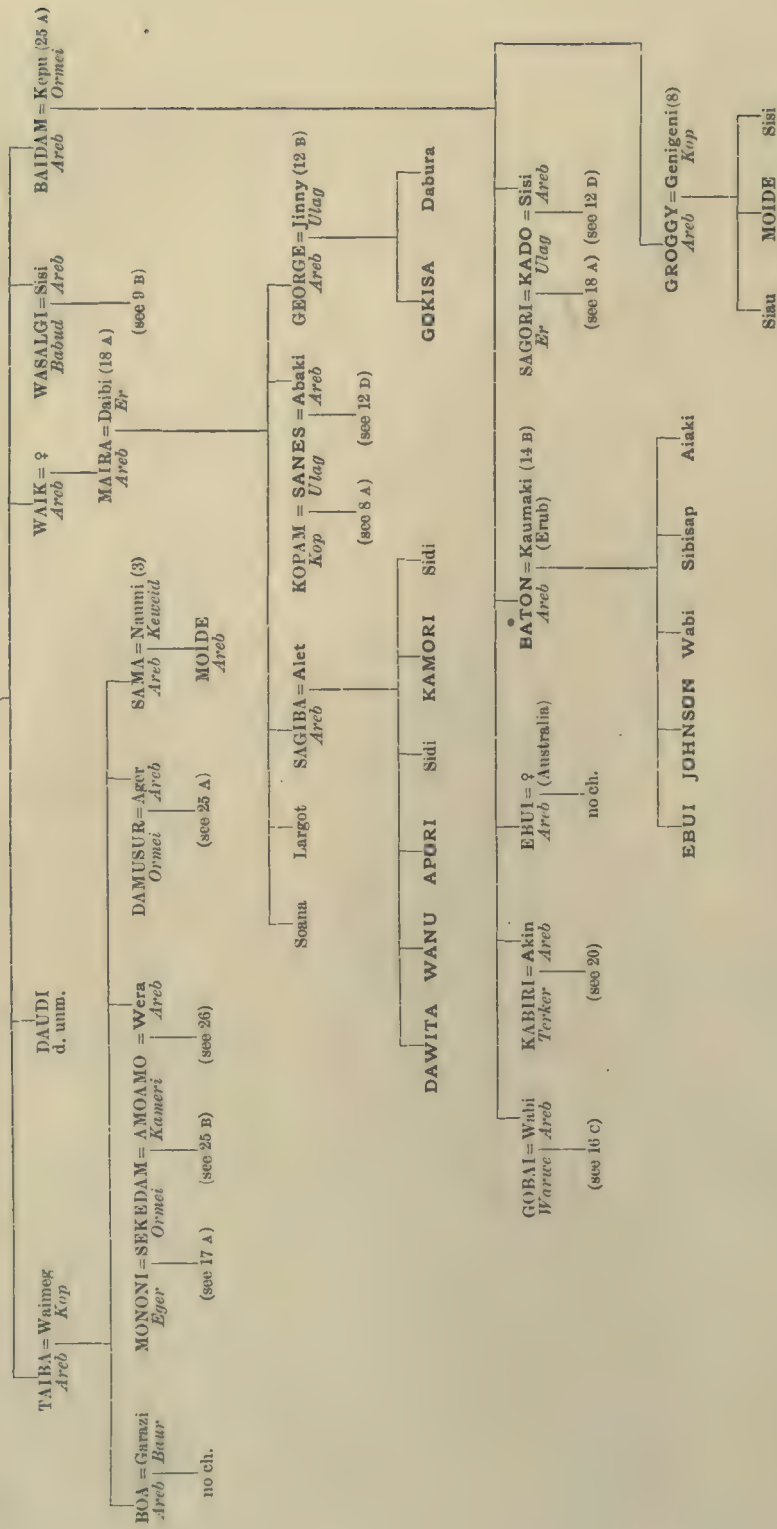


14. C. Las.

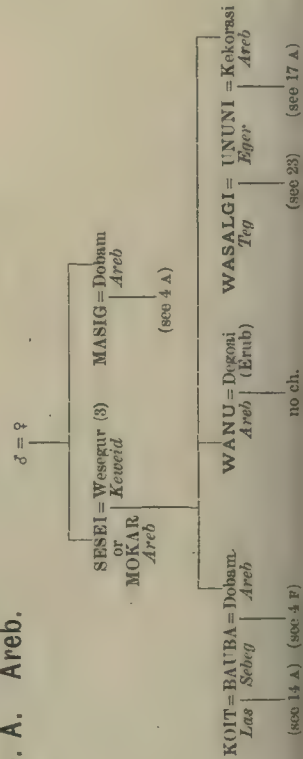


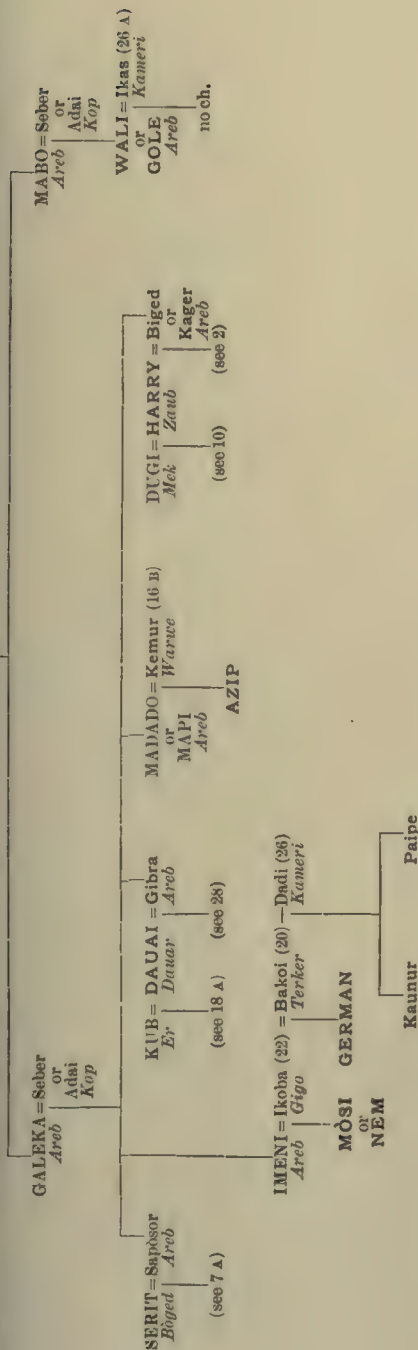
14. D. Las.



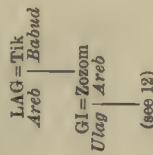
SIPO=Iad
Areb | Merqar

15. B. Arab.

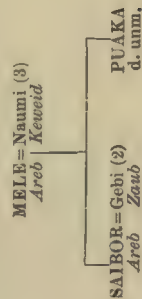




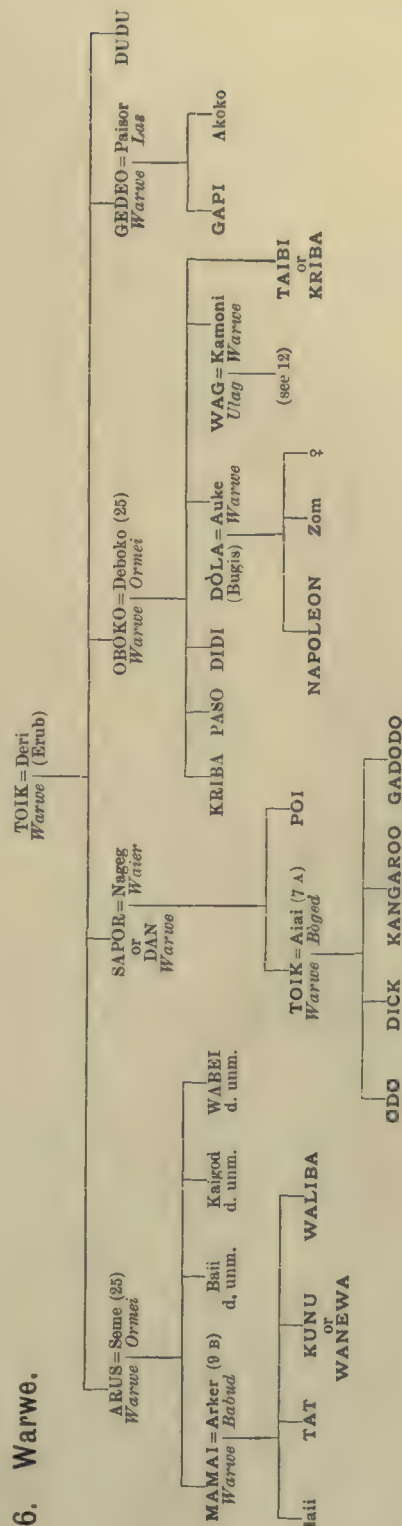
15. D. Arab.



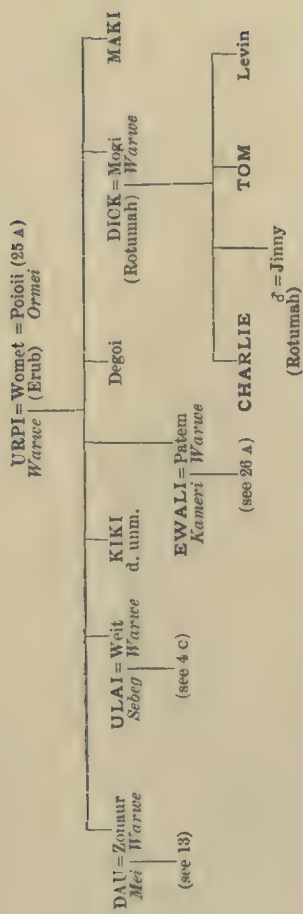
15. E. Arab.



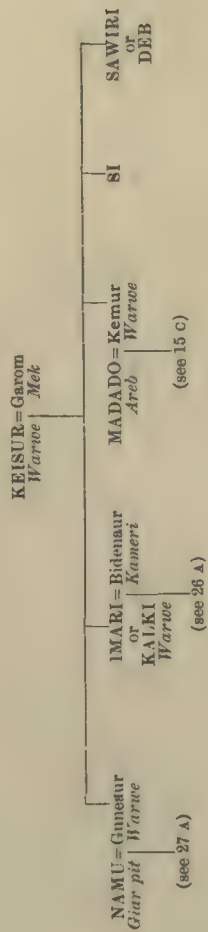
16. Warwe.



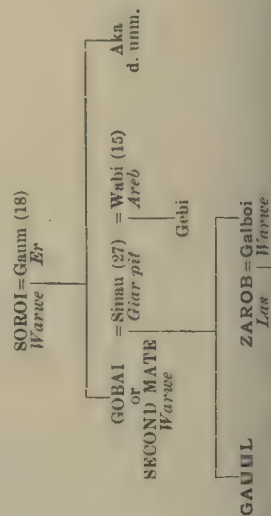
16. A. Warwe.

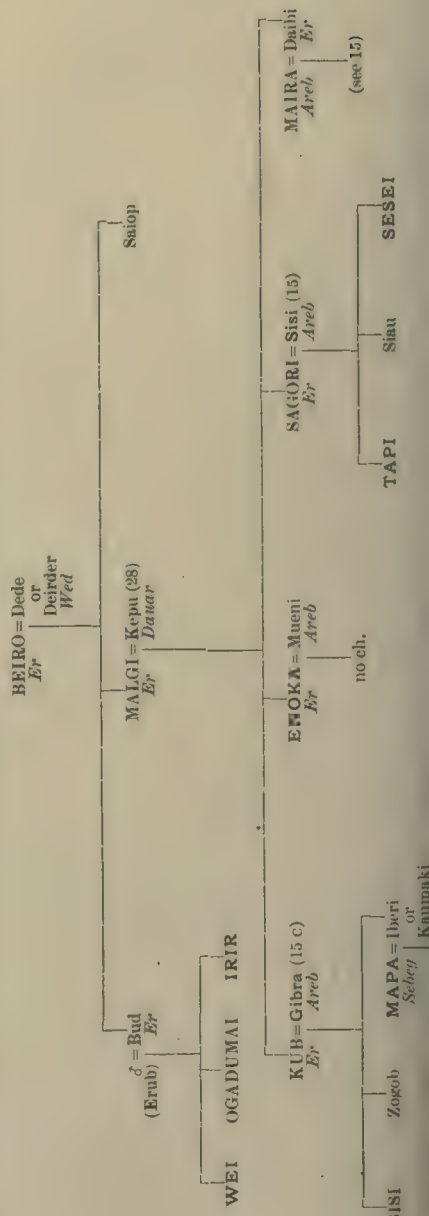


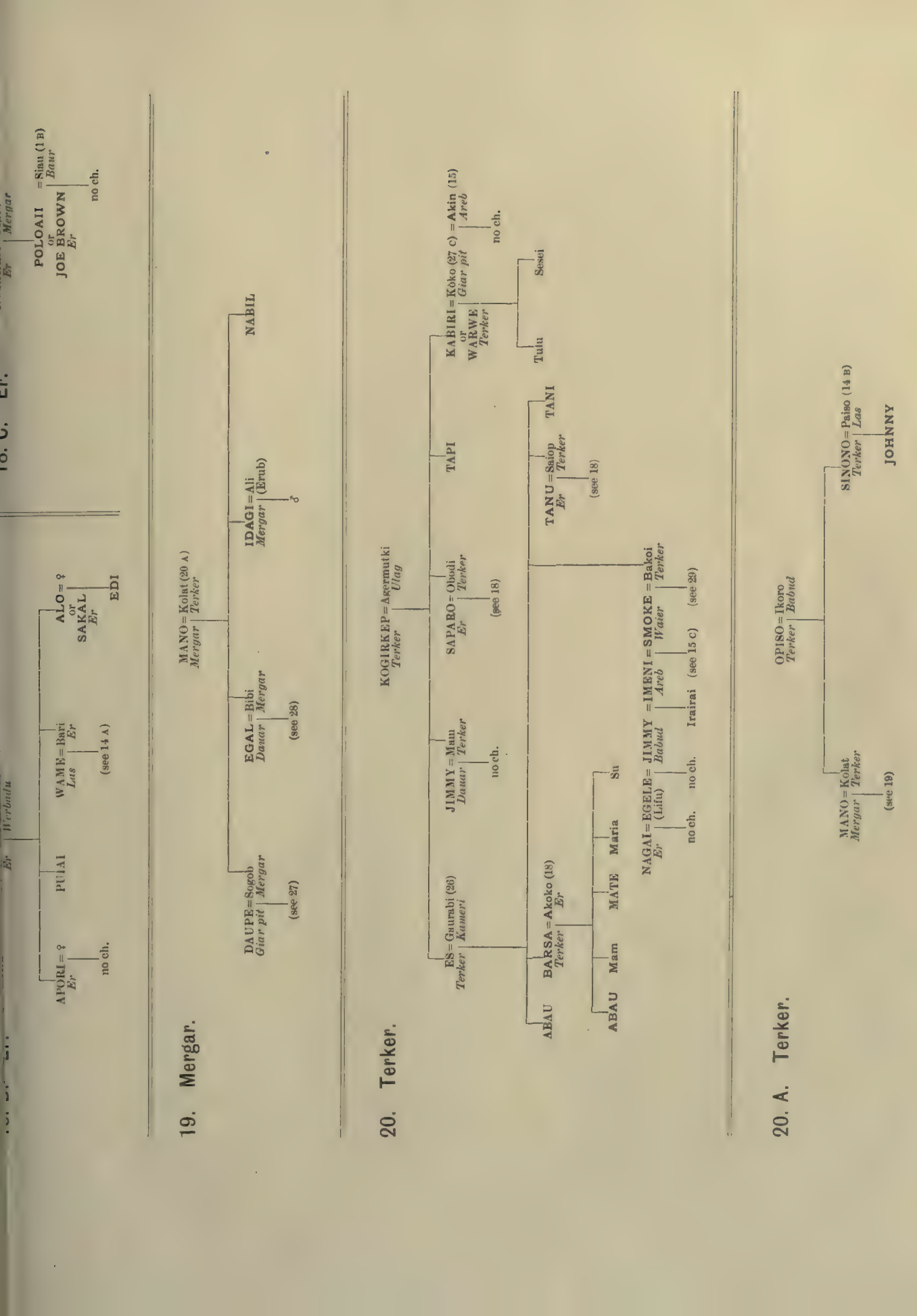
16. B. Warwe.



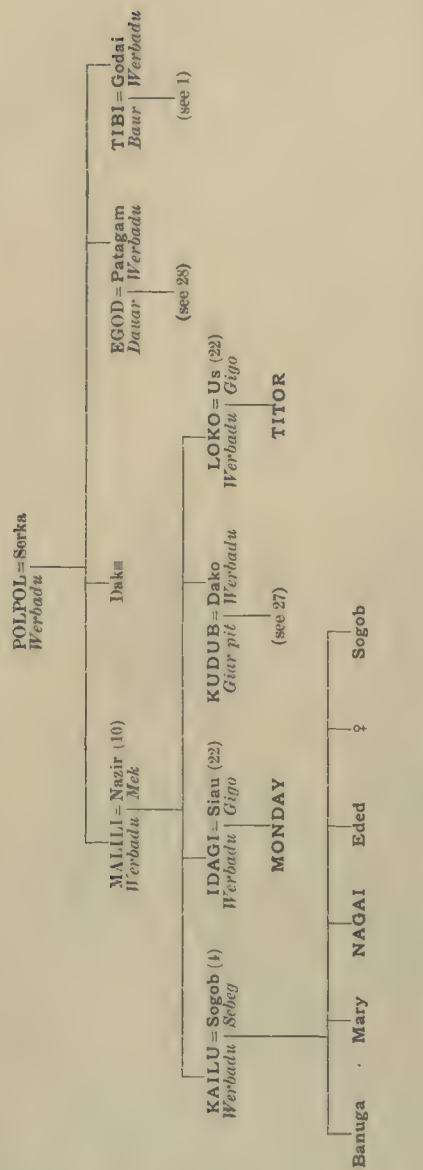
16. C. Warwe.



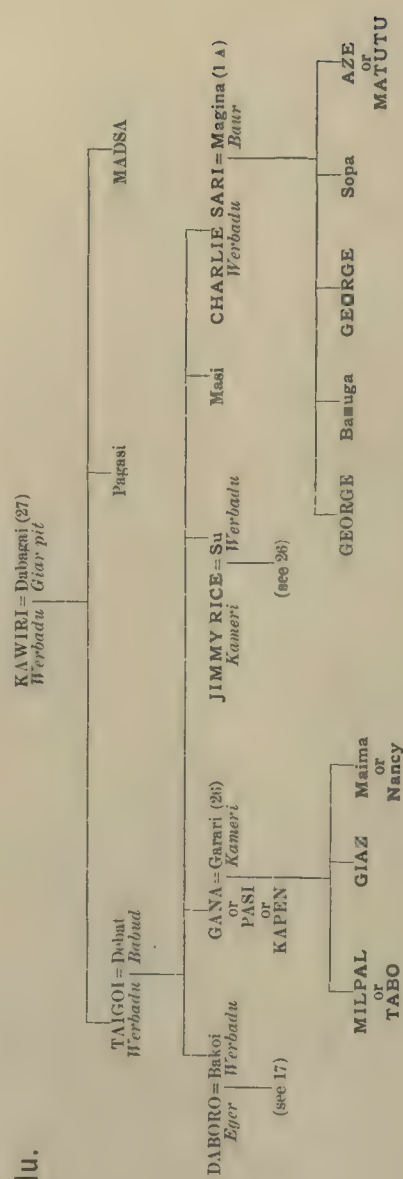
$$\text{TAGAI} = \text{Mo}_{\text{Er}} \mid \text{Davar} (?)$$




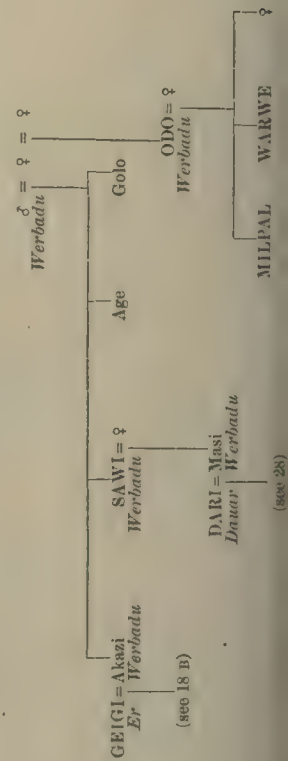
21. Werbadu.

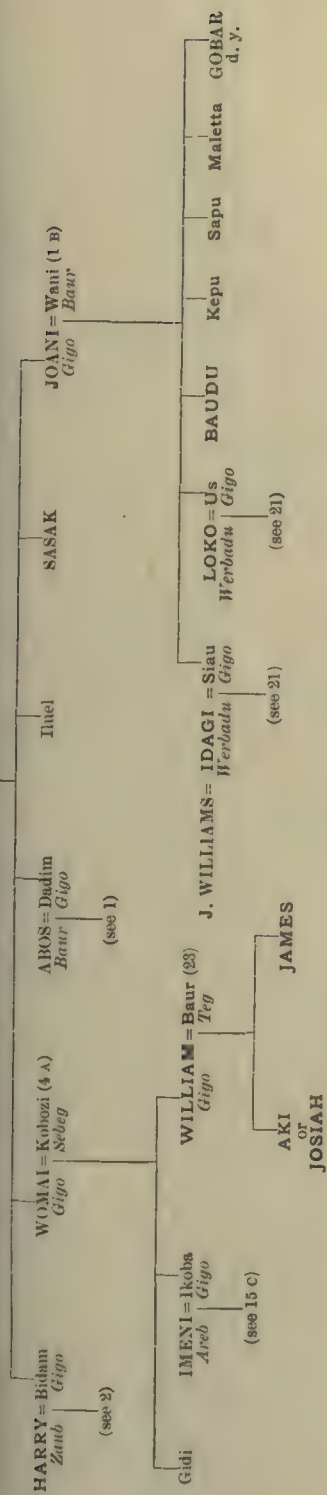


21. A. Werbadu.

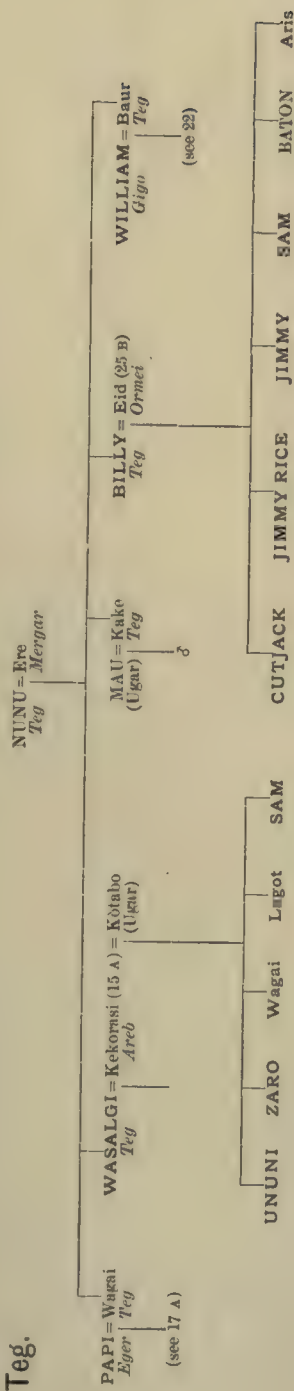


21. B. Werbadu.

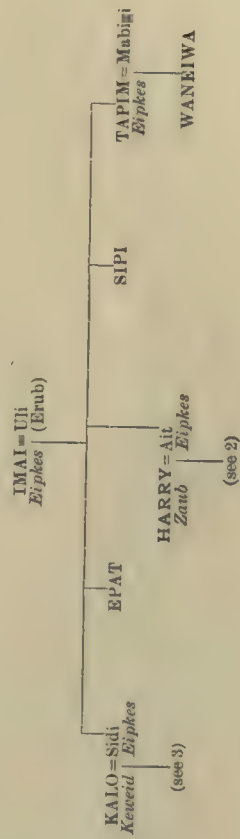




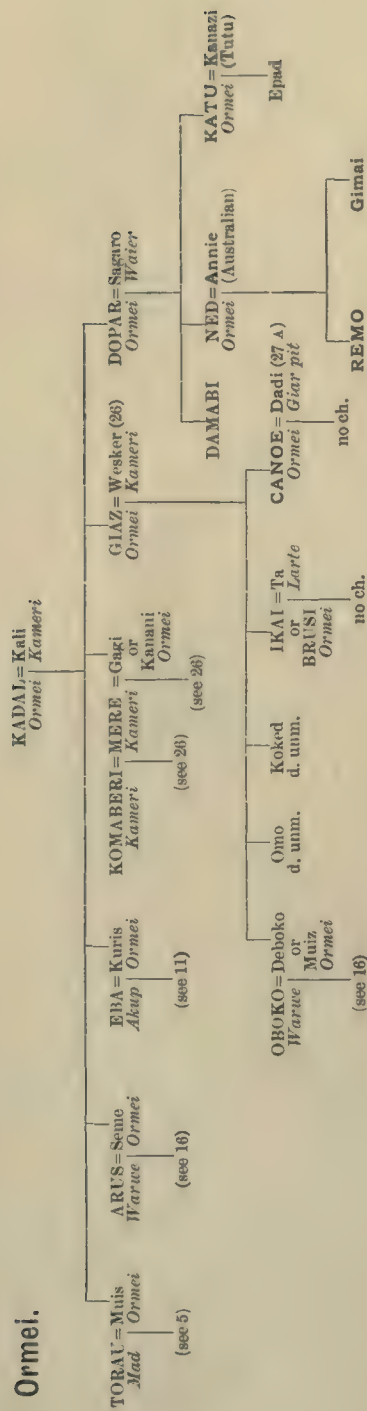
23. Teg.



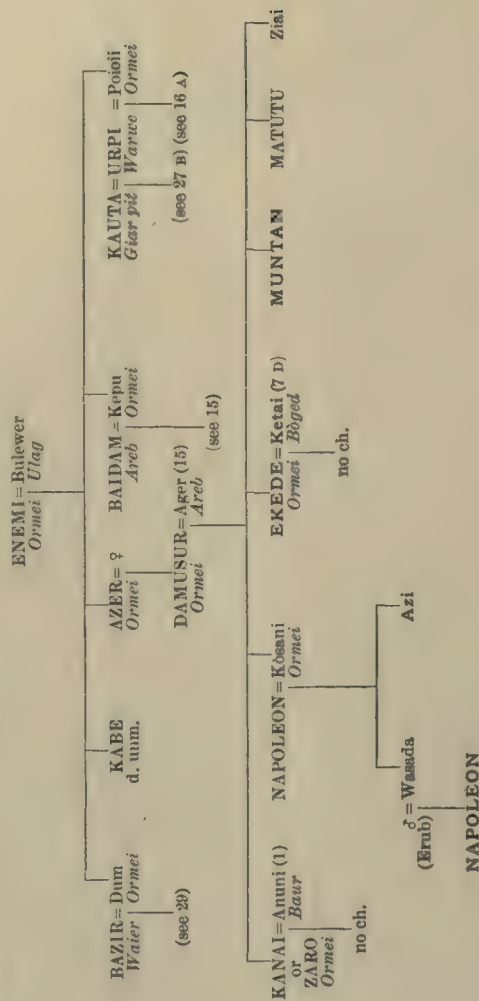
24. Eipkes.



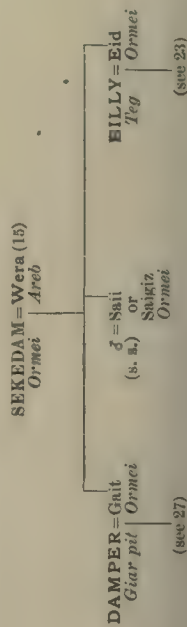
25. Ormei.



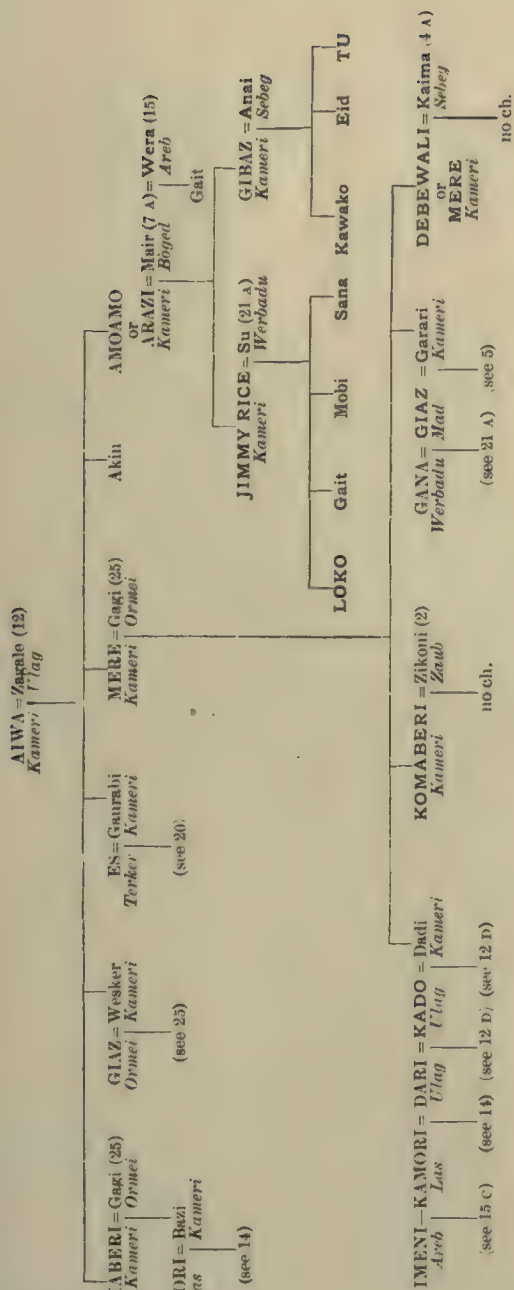
25. A. Ormei.



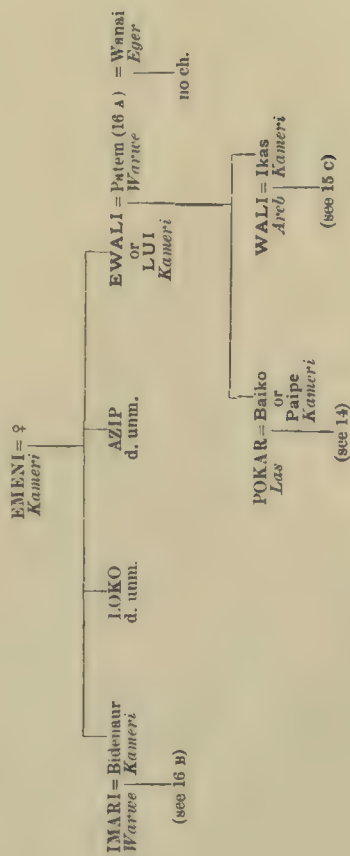
25. B. Ormei.



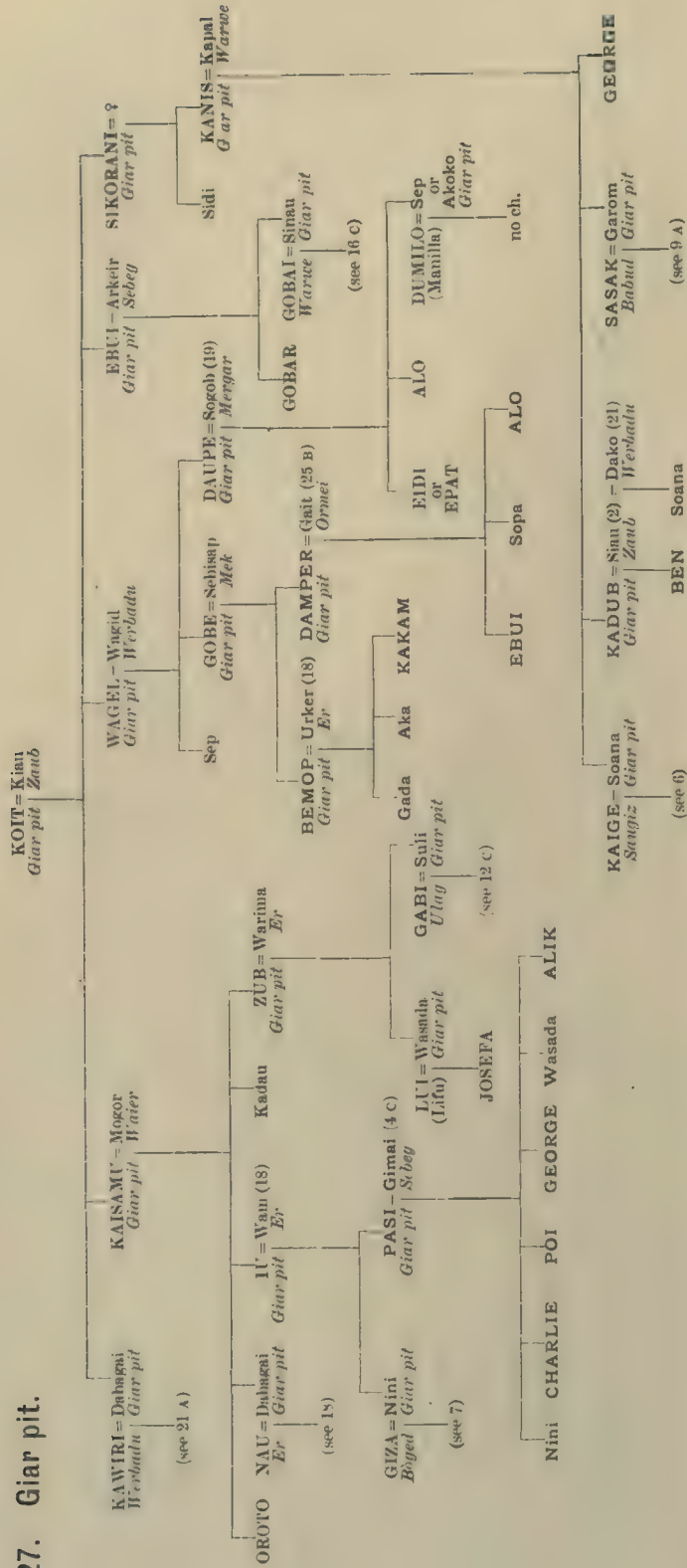
26. Kameri.



26. A. Kameri.



27. Giar pit.



27. A. Giar pit.

NAMU = Koiko (18) = Ganeur (16 B)
 Giar pit | Er | Warue

no ch.

CANOE = Dadi
 Ormei | Giar pit
 (see 25)

27. B. Giar pit.

KAUTA = Poioti (25 A)
 Giar pit | Ormei

NAIL = Awe
 Ulag | Giar pit
 (see 12 C)

WALMER = Kerki
 Baur | Giar pit
 (see 1 A)

OGAI = Alpor
 Ulag | Giar pit
 (see 12 B)

SESARI = Anb (7)
 Giar pit | Boged

MEITI = Awe
 Saba | Giar pit

CHARLIE = Kaibor

DAU

Giant

d. y.

III. KINSHIP.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THE system of kinship was studied in Murray Island by means of the genealogical method, but owing to its being my first essay in this direction, the study was much less complete than in my later work in Mabuiag. While staying in the latter island I was, however, able to supplement my work in Murray Island with information given by a native of Mer, Gi (12), who was staying in Mabuiag. Further, I have been able to use some information on kinship collected while we were in Murray Island by Mr Ray, and since we left Torres Straits Mr Bruce has sent an account of the relationships of the Murray Islanders, which confirms the accuracy of my account and gives additional information on several points. I can be confident that the account given in this article is correct in its main features, but there are several points of detail about which there remains some uncertainty. The system of kinship, like that among the Western Islanders, is of the classificatory kind, and in its main features bears a close resemblance to the system of the islands of Mabuiag and Badu described in the fifth volume of the Reports, though with several interesting differences.

I give first a list of the kinship-terms in use with approximate translations and then proceed to give more complete accounts of their meanings. In some cases there are two or more forms of a kinship-term, of which one vocative form is used in direct address and the other when speaking of a relative.

Lu giz, great-grandfather or great-grandmother, their brothers and sisters, and older ancestors.

*Kaiäd*¹ or *pòpa*, grandfather and grandmother.

Ab, *aba*¹ or *baba*, father.

Apu, *ama* or *amaua*¹, mother.

Wěřēm, child, son.

*Neaur*¹, daughter.

Năp, grandchild.

Kĩmiar, husband.

Kösker, wife.

Le, brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking).

Berbět, sister (man speaking), brother (woman speaking).

Aua, mother's brother.

Nunei, sister's son.

Něgwam, child of mother's brother or of father's sister.

¹ Mr Ray, Vocabulary, Vol. III. spells these respectively *kaied*, *abe*, *amau* or *amawa*, *neur*, *neubet*.

Awim, awima or *naiwet*, name for the relationship between a man and his wife's relatives.

*Naubët*¹, name for the relationship between a woman and her husband's relatives.

Akari, men who marry two sisters.

Neitawët, women who marry two brothers.

Lu giz. This term, which means the founders of things or the foundation of things², is used for all ancestors and collateral relatives of generations earlier than that of the grandparents.

Kaiad, pòp or *pòpa*. These are terms for grandparents and for their brothers and sisters and for members generally of the clans of the father and mother of the same generation as the grandparents. *Pòp* or *pòpa* is the term used in direct address, while *kaiad* would only be used if a man was speaking of his grandparent. The same terms are thus used for members of both sexes, but sometimes the grandfather or other male may be distinguished as *kimiär pòp*, and the grandmother as *kosker pòp*.

If the grandfather and grandmother are the eldest of their families they are called *au pòp*, while if younger members they are called *kebi pòp*, and the same names are given to brothers and sisters of the true grandparents according to their seniority in their families. Sometimes the true grandfather is distinguished as *pòp kar*.

Ab or *aba*, vocative form *baba*. These are primarily terms for father but, as is customary in the classificatory system, they have very much wider applications. They are applied to the true or the adoptive father, to his brothers, to all men of the father's clan and of his generation, to the husband of the mother's sister, probably also to the husband of the father's sister, and to anyone whom the father calls *le*.

Men standing in the relationship of *aba* are distinguished as *au ab* and *kebi ab* according to their seniority in their families. If a man's father were a younger son, the man would call his father *kebi ab* or little father and would give the name of *au ab* or great father to his uncle. When we pass beyond the family in the limited sense I am in some doubt how the distinction is made, and do not know certainly whether the name of *au ab* is given to those men whom the father would call *le* who are older than himself, or whether, as among the Western Islanders, he would give this name to the eldest son of each family of the clan. I think it is probable that the latter is the case.

Apu, vocative *ama* and *amaua*. These are primarily used for mother and are also applied to the sisters not only of the mother, but also of the father. The terms are also applied to the wife of anyone who would be called *aba*. According to Mr Bruce the name of *amaua* is sometimes given to the sisters of a grandparent who should properly be called *pòpa*. The unusual feature in the use of these terms is that the same kinship designation should be given to the sister of the father as to the sister of the mother, and I suspect that *amaua* is properly a term for the father's sister while *apu* is properly the term for mother and mother's sister, but that the two terms have now come to be used indiscriminately.

Werem. This is the term for child and is used for both boys and girls. There is no distinctive term for son, but if necessary a son would be distinguished as *kimiär*

¹ See note, p. 92.

² *Lu giz* is also the name for the swollen base of a tree trunk, such as that of the coco-nut palm.

werem. A daughter would be *neaur werem*, but the word *neaur* is often used alone, so that it would appear that there is a more distinctive term for daughter than for son, but it is probable that the term *werem* is always understood to mean son, unless the context makes it obvious that a daughter is meant. The terms *werem* and *neaur* are used with as wide a connotation as the reciprocal *aba* and *apu*. Anyone who calls a man *aba* is called by him *werem* or *neaur*.

Nap. This is the term for grandchild and is a reciprocal term to *pòpa*.

Kimiar. This, which is the word for man, is also the term for husband.

Kosker. This term means both woman and wife. It is also applied by a man to the wife of his brother, not only in the strict sense, but also to those who are called *le* according to any of the rules to be described in the next section.

Le. This is the kinship term given to one another by two brothers and also the term used by two sisters when referring to one another. Thus it is a term used by men for one another and by women for one another, but it is never applied by a man to a woman or vice versa.

The term is used with an extraordinarily wide meaning. It is applied by a man to his own brother, to the sons of his father's brothers, and to any other man of his clan and of his own generation. Thus a man belonging to the village of Ulag would call all Ulag men of his own generation *le*.

Further, it would seem that the term is now used in a very wide sense for anyone with whom relationship of almost any kind can be traced on the father's side. Thus, I was told that Gi of Ulag (12) would call Debe Wali (26) *le*, because Debe Wali's grandfather, Aiwa, had married an Ulag woman. If no relationship could be traced, some other reason might be given as the motive for the use of this term, thus Gi told me that he had been the *le* of Giza (7), because Gi's father had given Giza his name. Still another motive for the *le* relationship is derived from the custom of forming a bond of brotherhood or friendship with another man, the friends being called the *tebud* of one another. This *tebud* relationship descends from one generation to another and *tebud* addressed one another as *le*.

In fact the connotation of the term *le* has become so wide that it would seem to be applied by a man to nearly everyone on the island with whom he has no other bond of relationship, and it is often now also used loosely for a relative who should properly be called *negwam*. Behind this loose use of the term, however, the people have a clear idea of the *le* relationship in the strict sense, i.e. by blood kinship, and when especially asked, a man would always tell me who were his *le* proper as distinguished from his *le* in a wider sense.

An elder brother is called *narbet* and a younger *keimer* (see p. 96).

When this term is used by women of other women, it is probably applied almost, if not quite as widely, but my information on this point is much less complete, and I only have definite records of the term being used by a woman for her own sister and for a daughter of her father's brother and for other women of the same village and of the same generation as herself.

Berbet. This may best be described as a term for the brother-sister relationship, in distinction from *le*, which is a term for the brother-brother, or for the sister-sister

relationship. It is applied by a man to his sister, to the daughters of his father's brothers and to all women of his village of the same generation as himself. Similarly the term is applied by a woman to her brothers, to the sons of her father's brothers, and to all the men of her village of her own generation. I do not know whether it is used in the same wide senses as the term *le*, and I regret very much the deficiency of my record in this respect, for it is probable that, in whatever sense it were used, it would carry with it restrictions on marriage. As in the case of the relationship of *le*, there is a tendency to confuse the terms *berbet* and *negwam*, and I was sometimes told by a man that a woman was his *negwam berbet*.

Aua. This, which is primarily a term for mother's brother, is given to all men of the mother's village of the same generation as the mother. According to Mr Bruce it is sometimes applied to the brothers of the mother's father who should properly be called *pòpa*.

Nunei. This term is often used in the same sense as *aua*, but it seemed to be more commonly used, as the reciprocal of *aua*, for the sister's children, or more generally for the child of a *berbet*. It would thus seem that *nunei* is a reciprocal term of relationship applied to one another by mother's brother and sister's son, while *aua* is only used by the nephew to or of his uncle.

Negwam. This is a term which is now widely used for relatives on the mother's side, but it is also given to the child of the father's sister. Probably it is primarily a term applied to one another by the children of brother and sister, or to use the Miriam term by the children of *berbet*. At the present time it is certainly used also for the children of the mother's sister and for other relatives on the mother's side. As with the other kinship terms its use was extended to all the members of a village. Thus it was applied not only to all the children of the brothers and sisters of the mother, but to all those of the same village and generation as these.

It might also be used for relatives of the mother's mother, thus Barsa (20) was the *negwam* of Gi (12) because Barsa's mother's mother, Zagale, was the sister of Gi's grandfather, and there was some reason to believe that the mere fact of her having been an Ulag woman would have been sufficient to set up the *negwam* relationship between the two men, even if no definite kinship tie had been traceable in the genealogies.

Naiwet, *awim*, vocative form *awima*. These are reciprocal terms applied to each other by a man and the relatives of his wife; thus a man will give this name to the father, mother, brothers and sisters of his wife and all these will call the man in return by this name. The term is used not only for the own father, mother, etc. of the wife, but also to the relatives of this kind in the usual sense of the classificatory system.

A collective term for the *awim* of a man is *kem*.

Naubet. This is the term applied by a woman to the relatives of her husband, and as it is a reciprocal term, it is also applied by these people to the wife of their relative. Thus the wife of the *le* of a man is the *naubet* of the man, but it is interesting that the man also calls her *kosker*, the term which he applies to his own wife. The wife of a *tebud le* or friend with whom the bonds of artificial brotherhood have been formed is

also called *narbet*, and similarly the *tebud* of the wife address the husband as *naiwet* (but not as *awima*), the wife's *tebud* being all those who have formed the relation of brotherhood with her family.

Akari. This term expresses the relationship between the husbands of two sisters. Two men who have married sisters are *akari* to one another. The term corresponds to the *yakai* of Mabuiag.

Neitawet. This is the term given to one another by the wives of two brothers and corresponds to the *yatowat* of Mabuiag.

Two terms are used for distant relatives in general, one, *tokoiap* or *tukiap*, for distant relatives on the father's side, and the other *apule*, for distant relatives on the mother's side, and in some cases even for near relatives, as for mother's sister's child. I heard the former term once used as the equivalent of *akari* or wife's sister's husband, but probably this was because the man was also a distant relative on the father's side. There is little doubt that *tukoiap* is a term borrowed from the Western Islanders and was at one time only used for friends (*tebud*) belonging to other islands.

We have already seen that elder and younger brothers are distinguished as *narbet* and *keimer*, but when there are more than two in the family, there are more elaborate means of distinguishing their order of seniority, for an account of which I am indebted to Mr Bruce.

If there are three sons in a family, the eldest is called *narbet keimer*; the second is *eip keimer*, or middle brother; and the third is *mop kar keimer*, or end true brother. The first addresses the second and third as *keimer*, and they address him as *narbet*.

If there are five sons, their names in order are *narbet keimer*, *eip kar keimer*, *eip keimer*, *eip mop keimer* and *mop kar keimer*. Thus the second is called true middle and the fourth end middle, and Mr Bruce satisfied himself that the terms were used in this sense. The eldest addresses the others as *keimer* and is addressed by them as *narbet*.

In another sample family of three, a daughter followed by two sons, the daughter is called *narbet neaur berbet*; the elder boy is *narbet keimer berbet* and the younger is *mop kar keimer berbet*. The daughter calls the sons *berbet*, and they call her *narbet berbet*. The sons call one another *narbet* and *keimer* according to the usual rule.

In a family with four sons and one daughter, the latter in the middle, the terms would be: *narbet keimer*, *eip kar keimer*, *berbet*, *eip mop keimer* and *mop kar keimer*. The brothers address the sister as *berbet*, and she addresses the eldest as *narbet berbet* and the others as *keimer berbet*; the eldest brother addresses the others as *keimer* and is addressed by them as *narbet*.

In a family of two sons followed by two daughters, the names in order are: *narbet keimer*, *eip keimer*, *eip neaur berbet* and *mop kar neaur berbet*. The eldest addresses the second as *keimer* and the two daughters as *berbet*, and is addressed by all three as *narbet*. The younger daughter addresses the elder as *narbet* and is addressed by her as *keimer*.

In a family of four sons and one daughter, the youngest, the names in order would be: *narbet keimer*, *eip keimer*, *eip mop keimer*, *mop kar keimer*, and the daughter *mop kar neaur keimer*.

If the last two families are those of brothers, the former of the elder and the latter

of the younger, the two eldest sons would address one another as *le* and would call their younger cousins *keimer* or *berbet* according to their sex. The younger males of each family would call both the eldest brothers *narbet* and would address each other as *le* or as *keimer*. The daughters would address the eldest son of each family as *narbet* *berbet*, and their younger male cousins as *keimer*. They will address each other as *le* or *keimer*. The elder daughter of the family of the elder brother is called *narbet* by her own sister and by the daughter of the younger brother, but it is not clear whether this is because she is the daughter of an elder brother or because she occupies a higher place in her own family.

The kinship system of Murray Island is a definite example of that called classificatory, but it lacks one of the ten features which Morgan regarded as indicative, viz., that feature according to which a special designation is given to the father's sister. In the account I have given in Vol. v. of the Reports I suggested that the distinction between father's sister and mother's sister was in process of disappearance among the Western Islanders and it would seem that it has been completely lost among the Eastern Islanders. It is of course possible that it has never existed and that the Murray Island system represents an earlier stage of evolution than that of Mabuiag, but I think there can be little doubt that the process in play here has been loss of a distinction which at one time existed rather than the development of a previously non-existent distinction. The facts that there are three terms (*apu*, *ama* and *amaua*) in Murray Island for the mother, mother's sister and father's sister relationship, and that one of these, *amaua*, suggests a relation akin to that of *aua* or maternal uncle, make it more than probable that there was at one time a distinction between father's sister and mother's sister which has disappeared.

In another respect the system of Murray Island is more complete than that of Mabuiag; it has a special designation for the children of brother and sister which is lacking in Mabuiag, though there was evidence that it existed in Saibai, another of the Western Islands. Though this feature is not included by Morgan among those which he calls indicative, it is a very general feature of the classificatory system, and here again, though no conclusive evidence can be adduced, it is much more probable that this is a feature which the Mabuiag system has lost rather than one which has been developed only in the Eastern Islands.

The fact that in the Murray Islands the term *negwam* is applied to the child of a mother's brother and to the child of a father's sister makes it almost certain that it is properly a distinctive term for the children of brother and sister, or more correctly for the children of those who would call one another *berbet*. The term is now, however, applied also to the children of the mother's sister, a departure from the usual practice in connection with the classificatory system. According to some, however, the name for a mother's sister is *apule*, or relative on the mother's side, and there is little doubt that the use of *negwam* for this relationship is due to an extension of the term. Indeed, it seemed that the term *negwam* is now often applied to almost any relative on the mother's side and not only to those of the same generation as the speaker.

Another difference between the two systems is that in Mabuiag there are separate terms for grandfather and grandmother, while in Murray Island one designation has to

serve for both. In another respect the Murray Island system is the more complete in that it has two terms for the relationship of mother's brother and sister's son while in Mabuia there was only one term, *wadwan*, applied by uncle to nephew and by nephew to uncle. It seems clear, however, that in Murray Island *nunei* is such a reciprocal term, but that in addition another term, *awa*, is in use, limited in its application to the uncle.

A more important difference between the two systems is in the terms for relatives-in-law; here the Mabuia system is the more complete in having a term for parents-in-law distinct from that for brothers- and sisters-in-law. The Mabuia terms for the latter relationships, *imi* and *ngaubat*, are evidently the same words as the *awim* and *naubet* of Murray Island, but the exact connotation of the terms is very different in the two cases. The Mabuia terms are used in the same sense as *tukoia* and *babat*, *imi* being used for the relationship between brothers-in-law and for that between sisters-in-law while *ngaubat* is used for the relationship between brother-in-law and sister-in-law; one is a term of relationship between two persons of the same sex while the other expresses that between two persons differing in sex. In Murray Island, on the other hand, the distinction between the terms is quite different; *awim* is a designation for the relationship between a man and his wife's relatives, while *naubet* applies to the relationship between a woman and her husband's relatives, so that both are applied by men to men, by women to women, and also by men and women to one another.

The two kinship systems of Torres Straits show several features of great theoretical interest. Both systems exhibit certain departures from the typical form of the classificatory system. The Mabuia system has lost the distinction between the children of brothers and the children of sisters on the one hand and the children of brother and sister on the other hand, and seems to be in process of losing the distinction between the relationships of father's sister and mother's sister. This latter distinction has been completely lost by the Miriam who have, however, preserved the distinction lost by the Western Islanders. Both systems have changed in such a way that they tend to approach the Malayan system of Morgan.

If the Murray Islanders followed the example of the Western Islanders, as they seem to be doing, and failed to distinguish between *negwan* and *le*, and if the Western Islanders followed the Murray Islanders in losing the distinction between father's sister and mother's sister (as they also seem to be doing), there would only remain in the two groups the existence of the relationship of mother's brother to separate their systems from one in which there would be only two kinship terms for each generation, one for each sex. If the feature of having a special term for mother's brother were also to go, and there is even some indication of this in Mabuia (see Vol. v., p. 135), we should have a system closely approaching the Malayan system of Morgan¹.

Morgan supposed the Malayan or Hawaiian system to be primitive and this system gave him his sole evidence for the existence of the consanguine family. From our present knowledge of the culture of the Polynesians it would seem extremely unlikely that they should possess a family organisation of a primitive kind, and the nature of the changes going on in the systems of Torres Straits seem to show that the Polynesian

¹ Among the Miriam there is an even nearer approach to the Malayan system in the use of the same designation for both grandfather and grandmother.

system arose as the result of a breaking down of a more complicated classificatory system, that it is in fact a late product of change of exactly the same kind as seems to have produced the languages of Polynesia, which are simplifications of the more complicated languages of the Melanesian family.

Another feature of interest in the Miriam system is that a man gives the same name to the wives of his brothers as to his own wife, and this not only to the wives of his own brothers but also to the wives of his *le* in a wide sense.

A further feature is the combination in both groups of kinship-ties dependent on membership of a totemic clan or village, either that of the father or of the mother, with kinship-ties dependent on consanguinity which can be traced in the genealogies. Thus a man might be called *aba* because he was of the same clan or village as the speaker, although no direct blood-tie could be traced, and on the other hand other men of several clans or villages would be given the same name, entirely owing to some relationship traceable in the genealogies. When used in the latter way, it seemed that the kinship terms were often used very loosely, especially among the Miriam, and were applied to many persons with whom the blood relationship was of a very distant kind. In fact they were used so widely that it was difficult to find an islander to whom a man would not give one or other of the chief kinship terms. It must be remembered, however, that my genealogical record for the Miriam is far from being complete, and it is possible that with wider knowledge the looseness of application of many of the kinship terms would be found to be apparent only.

Kinship taboos.

There is a definite taboo on the name of a relative by marriage, as among the Western Islanders. All other persons are addressed by name, but if relatives by marriage are addressed or spoken of except by the terms expressing the bond of relationship, *awim* and *naubet*, it is regarded as an insult, and reparation has to be made. The offender has to conciliate the aggrieved person or persons by a present of food or goods, and until the penalty is paid no communication takes place between the parties. The offence is regarded as one against the whole family and not merely against the individual, and so no time is lost in making the reparation, and the family of the offender assists in the provision of the necessary conciliatory offering. The taboo applies not only to relatives by the ordinary bonds of kinship, but also to those by the *tebud* relationship or artificial brotherhood.

The taboo applies equally to men and women, but if women offend, it is not the custom to make conciliatory presents. The women are said to be great offenders, especially when they quarrel with their mothers-in-law, but as Mr Bruce states, the men consider that they would be doing nothing else but making presents if women incurred the same penalties as men. The women are probably made to suffer in some other way, and it may be that this offence is one of the provocations of the wife-beating which is undoubtedly very common in Murray Island. One interesting point in connection with this custom is the method of showing that an offence has been committed. If a relative by marriage is spoken of by name, anyone present of the family of the

injured person will immediately hang down his head to show that he is ashamed because his relative's name has been used, and every one at once recognizes what has happened.

If it is necessary, in connection with some business transaction, or for any other reason, to distinguish a relative-in-law in conversation the taboo may be avoided by speaking of the relative as the wife or husband of so and so as in Mabuiag, or some other man to whom the taboo does not apply may be asked to tell the name.

A person who is subject to a taboo on the name of a relative is also debarred from uttering the name of that relative if it should be the name of an object. Thus if the relative in question were named after an animal, the person subject to the taboo would have to find some other name for the animal. If a woman is named *Ni*, water, the *naubet* of the women may not use the word *ni* in her presence, but would use either *kusu* or *goki*. In asking for a drink of water, he would not say as usual, "*Ma ni karim tekau*," but "*Ma kusu karim tekau*." The alternative words so used are generally borrowed from the languages of other islands. The following examples are given by Mr Bruce:

For *sep*, earth, would be used *par*, stone; for *gur*, sea, *malo*; for *u*, coco-nut, *warab*; for *kaba*, banana, *katam*; for *pereper*, lightning, *panepane*; for *isi*, centipede, *au tereg*, *tereg ebur*, big tooth animal; and for *koiet*, rock codfish, would be used *mammam lar*, or red fish.

The functions of kin.

When I was in Murray Island I did not inquire whether there were any special functions connected with ties of kinship. It was only after discovering the remarkable duties and privileges connected with kinship in Mabuiag that my interest in this topic was aroused. My only means of making further investigation then was by the aid of a Murray Islander, Gi, who was staying in Mabuiag, and I was told by him that it is the duty of a *le* to preside at the funeral, and that if there is no *le*, the duty would be undertaken by a *negwam*.

The power of stopping a fight was said to be possessed by a *le*, *negwam*, *aba*, *amaua*, *aua*, *pòpa* and *awim*, i.e. by relatives of nearly every degree. The only exception made was that of the *naubet*, which probably means little more than that the privilege of stopping a fight is chiefly possessed by men.

Similarly the power of taking any of the possessions of a man, which in Mabuiag was so predominantly the privilege of the maternal uncle, was said to be the privilege of all relatives; it appeared that anyone who was called *le*, *negwam*, *aba*, *amaua*, *aua*, *berbet*, *awim* or *naubet*, might take any of a man's possessions and the man would say nothing. As I found it very difficult to find the name of anyone in Murray Island to whom Gi did not apply one of these terms, it would appear from his account as if everyone has a theoretical right to the property of everyone else on this island.

When we were in Murray Island Mr Bruce had told us that he had seen men taking the tops of other men who did nothing to prevent the loss of their property.

As it seemed that this was an example of the regulation described by Gi, I wrote to Mr Bruce to ask if he could find out more about the custom. Mr Bruce found that anyone, whether a relative or not, has the right to pick up a top, but that it is customary to make a present in return. If the top is taken by a *le* or a *negwam*, the present is usually smaller than when it is taken by one who is not related, and there was some reason to suppose that an *awim* was not supposed to make a present at all. When a man intends to take the top of another, he usually tells the owner beforehand, at the same time hinting what he intends to give in return. In one case the top of Pasi (27) was taken by Ulai (4c) without any previous arrangement and no compensation was given, Ulai claiming to be the *awim* of Pasi, although the latter could hardly trace the relationship.

Mr Bruce collected a number of recent instances in which tops had been taken, and it happens that in the majority of cases the man who took the top was the *awim* of the original owner, but the islanders are very emphatic that anyone has the right. Nevertheless there can be little doubt that this practice of taking the property of another is the outcome of some such regulation as exists in Mabuiag where only certain relatives have the right, and that the privilege has gradually spread from one relation to another till it is now the privilege of all, and it is strongly in support of this view that one relative, that of *awim*, or relative by marriage, should still possess the right without having to give anything in return. Probably we have here an example of a kinship-custom which has become generalised so that it has entirely lost its original significance.

According to Mr Bruce, the only other object taken in the same way is the toy-boat which it is a very favourite occupation in some years to sail within the reef.

The only other record we possess of special privileges connected with kinship is in the *Kaketut* custom (see article on Courtship and Marriage, p. 112), in which a man makes a present of food to his wife's relatives, and when the recipient goes to his son-in-law's place to receive the present he is accompanied by his *negwam*, or failing them, by his brothers or other *le*.

IV. PERSONAL NAMES.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

EVERY inhabitant of the Murray Islands has several names, and it has already been mentioned that this was often a source of embarrassment in compiling the genealogies. There is a great reluctance to utter one of these names which is probably regarded by the man as his in a very special sense, and the names by which we knew all the inhabitants were either nicknames or other names of minor importance. It was only in a very few cases, if at all, that we learnt the especially private name of a man.

There is one name which is handed on from father to eldest son in each family. The name of this kind possessed by Pasi was Aet, and he had this name tattooed on both arms. Similarly the name which Jimmy Rice (26) had inherited from his father was Saviri or Sawiri. Sometimes the name inherited from the father was in more general use, and we always knew Wasalgi (23) by his name of this kind though he was also Ses, Ineau, Obeam, Ununi, and had still another name which he professed to have forgotten.

According to Mr Bruce there are also special family names for girls, at any rate in certain families. The eldest girls of the families of Gadodo (14) and of Pasi (27) are named Warber, and the second-born Goi¹, being named after certain water-holes (see p. 7). Pasi probably has the right to use these names owing to his real descent from Las, though his family has now belonged by adoption to Dauar for several generations.

Mr Bruce tells us that one reason for the multiplicity of names is disagreement at the time of name-giving; several names are suggested by different people and all are given to the child.

At the present time very many of the names in ordinary use are nicknames often given by the South Sea men with whom the people work in the diving-boats. Names of this kind date back to the first arrival of South Sea men in the Straits; the strangers could not or did not care to learn the Miriam words and gave names often of a nautical origin, such as Boutship, Jibsheet, Capsize and Whaleboat, or of such a kind as Grog or Groggy, Smoke and Wait-a-minute.

A large proportion of the younger people bear names of European origin, such as Jimmy, Charley, William and Billy, the latter being evidently regarded as two quite

¹ This occurs as a female name in Sebeg (4 E).

distinct names, unrelated to one another. Names of biblical origin occur, especially among the middle-aged men, having probably been assumed when they were converted. Several of these names have been modified; thus, David has become Dawita, and Enoch, Enoka; while John has been adopted in the form of Joani.

In many cases we have been in doubt whether names are proper Miriam names, or of South Sea or European origin. Thus we are still quite uncertain whether the name of the old Mamoose is Arei (Miriam) or Harry. In this case the latter seemed more probable and it has been adopted, but as a rule wherever there seemed to be a doubt the Miriam origin has been preferred and the name spelt phonetically. Thus Meiti (4 D) should perhaps rather be Matey, but as it may quite well from its character have been a Miriam name, it has been written phonetically. Another name which was at first written Sekmeit turned out clearly to have been Second Mate, and as there could be no doubt about the origin of this name it has been written in English fashion. In other cases, however, the names have been written phonetically, though there is little doubt that they are of external origin. Examples are Kilarup (Keel her up), Bemop (Beam up), and Kapilag (Captain Lagge).

Sometimes a man would have an obvious nickname of Miriam origin, thus Debe Wali means "good clothes," and had been applied to one of our two servants whose proper name was Mere (26).

As in Mabuiag many of the proper Miriam names are taken from natural objects, but this feature is perhaps not so obvious as in that island. I have been able to find fewer positive examples, but it is possible that this is only the result of imperfect knowledge. Examples of men's names are Kadal, crocodile; Koiop, dragon-fly; Malili (*malil*, iron); Tapim, the sting-ray. Among women's names of this kind are Awe, a variety of banana; Bud, mourning; Nam, the green turtle, and Us, a shell.

There is one reason why we might expect names taken from objects to be less frequent among the Miriam. They carry the taboo on the names of relatives-in-law farther than the inhabitants of Mabuiag in that they may not utter the names of objects if they are also the names of these relatives. This taboo is a source not only of inconvenience but also of expense (see p. 99), and it would not be unnatural if a prejudice has arisen against such names.

Several names taken from the folk-tales or from stars and constellations have been given to both men and women, as Tagai, Geigi, Nageg and Iluel. Not so many people are called after the names of places as in Mabuiag, the only examples I have found being Warwe in the case of a man, and Kiwai, Moa, Bòged, Kabur and Baur as women's names, and the last may have been taken from an object, the fish-spear, rather than from the place. Here, however, as in Mabuiag, place names have been more frequently given to women than to men, and this correspondence in the two peoples suggests that women may have been often known at one time by the name of the place from which they came, as the Kiwai woman or the Moa woman; a fact which, if established, would be of some theoretical interest.

There are several examples of personal names common to the Eastern and Western Islanders. Examples are Imari, Wame, Sawi, Barigud and Newar. The last has been recently given to several children, and may merely be an indication of the closer inter-

course with Mabuiag, which is now coming about, but the other instances are ancient. In some cases the names of men in Mabuiag are the names of women among the Miriam, of which examples are Mam and Aba. Again, in some cases men bear the Western names of objects; thus there occur as men's names Baidam and Sapor, which are the Western names for the shark and the flying fox.

We have no record of any special ceremonies connected with name-giving, but that there was something of the kind is rendered probable by the fact that the act of giving a name to a child set up a relationship between the giver and recipient, a relationship which was carried on to the next generation (see p. 94).

Exchange of names is not a Miriam custom, but it is now coming into vogue in imitation of the Western Islanders, and several of our party were asked to exchange names by the younger men. I exchanged names with Aki (22), whom I met again in Mabuiag after we had left Murray Island. I had forgotten the exchange and addressed him as Aki, which gave him much pain, for, as he told me, I was Aki and his name was Rivers.

The very definite taboo on the names of certain kin has been fully considered (see p. 99). As among the Western Islanders there was no evidence of any taboo on the names of the dead, and many people now bear the names of those who have died, examples being Dako (21), Diwadi (11) and Ili (1). When a child died its name might be given to the next child born, if of the same sex, as in the cases of Kriba (16) and Gasi (4 D), but this practice seemed to be less frequent than in Mabuiag.

V. BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD CUSTOMS, AND LIMITATION OF CHILDREN.

By A. C. HADDON.

IN the section on Midwifery in Volume I. the medical aspects of pregnancy and parturition are dealt with, here their social and magical aspects are alone considered.

PREGNANCY CUSTOMS.

Frequently pregnant women eat at various times a greasy, chocolate-like earth in lumps about the size of two or three walnuts. Sometimes it is eaten raw, but the proper way is to wrap the piece of earth in banana leaves and then roast it, the object being to make the skin of the child light coloured. If a child is born of a dark colour, the other women say the mother did not eat the earth; should the child be of a dirty colour, they say the mother was too lazy to roast the earth, they laugh at her for eating it raw and gossip about it. I have been informed that women eat female pigeons to get girls and male pigeons to get boys.

When a wife told her husband she was pregnant, he left her until after the birth of the child.

FOOD TABOOS.

When a woman knows she is pregnant she is debarred from eating certain fish and shell-fish, but she may eat all garden produce.

If the mother eats a sole-like, flat fish, called *at*, the babe will have bad eyes and a misshapen nose. Should she eat a *gib*, a red fish that is caught at the edge of the reef, the child's face and body will be wrinkled all over like that of an aged person¹. The eating of a *garom*, a grey fish with brown spots, makes the child cold in the womb, *kem giru*; as does also the eating of the *ezer*, baler-shell (*Melo diadema*).

If the mother eats an octopus, the suckers are supposed to spoil the mouth, hands, and fingers of the child in the womb. The *mokipu* shell-fish is supposed to cause diarrhoea to pregnant women; when roasted, the meat in the shell is soft and glutinous, and makes no sound when it is put on the embers to roast.

¹ Mr Hunt says, "birth-marks were supposed to be caused by the pregnant woman eating a certain kind of fish, *komsar*, the juices of which touched the child and caused the mark, *komsar gole*" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. 1899, p. 11).

On the other hand the following shell-fish make a hissing sound, *au mermer*, when being roasted, and if the mother eats these, the child will be a good talker and singer and lusty lunged (*werem au debe wed a mermer le*, 'child very good song and speech person'). These are *nasir* (*Trochus niloticus*), *seskip* (*Turbo* sp.) and *maber* (*Megalatractus* and *Triton*). The latter, or Trumpet shell, is an extremely suitable emblem of a good talker, and Mr Bruce informs me that few of the mothers have omitted to eat of that shell-fish.

CHILD-BIRTH.

The following accounts are mainly derived from Mr Bruce. Generally a near relative would assist the wife at the birth of a child, either her own mother, sister, or aunt, and the husband's mother would, as a rule, be present also. The women in attendance are called *auski kosker*, *auski* means one crouching down, or one sitting 'on his hunkers.' In most cases when the infant was not wanted, and the parents wished the birth kept secret, the mother would not have anyone to assist her, or only have her own mother or some other near relative with her.

When the mother was in travail the *auski kosker* told the husband that he must go into the sea, as his wife was in great pain. The husband then went into the sea and kept on diving into the water, in order to relieve the pains of his wife, this he had to do continuously till the child was born. Then the *auski kosker* told him to cease, and complimented him on having so well assisted at the birth of the child; the child is then presented to him. Sometimes the man is kept diving in the water for hours¹.

The mother-in-law, or some other woman, cooks for the husband, as the newly-made mother does no work for two weeks. The husband gives a present to his mother-in-law.

Mr Hunt gives the following particulars: "If the birth was delayed the husband would seek the aid of a sorcerer who would take some sacred object, e.g. a spear, and put it in the sea, when the child would be born. Or the husband himself would be sent by the midwife to stand in the sea, and as soon as his legs felt cold the child would be born. The sister of the husband would receive the child as it was born.... The woman was not considered unclean after child-birth, nor was any ceremony necessary for her re-admission into society. In the case of still-birth, the body of the child was dried and hung up in the wind, sometimes it was painted" (l. c. p. 11).

LIMITATION OF CHILDREN.

Prolonged lactation tends to reduce the size of families. A child is generally weaned when it begins to bite hard with its teeth; weaning is accomplished by the mother anointing her nipples with a decoction of chillies and water. Lactation is, however, often prolonged beyond this time as children nearly three years old have been observed at their mother's breast.

¹ Mr Bruce adds, "it is a good opportunity for the mother-in-law to pay him off for any old grievances she may have against him"; this may be the case, but it is essentially a case of contagious sympathetic magic.

Fœticide.

Various checks to the increase of the population were frequently employed, and indeed they are so still to a limited extent. Mr Bruce does not know of any operation performed on men or women to induce sterility, nor is any diet adopted as a check to fertility; but old women may give to young women the young leaves of the *argerarger* (*Callicarpa* sp.), a large tree, of which the fruit is inedible; *sòbe* (*Eugenia*, near *E. chisiacfolia*), a large tree with edible fruit; and *bok*, a large shrub. The young leaves of these trees are well chewed and the juice swallowed, until they feel that their bodies are wholly saturated with the juice. The process takes some time, but when their system is thoroughly impregnated, they are supposed to be proof against fecundity and can go with men indefinitely. Both men and women strongly believe in the efficacy of these leaves, sterile women tell their husbands they use these plants as a preventative and they are believed.

Abortion is procured by medicinal and mechanical means. The leaves of the shore convolvulus, *wakor* (*Ipomæa pes-capræ*), which grows on the beach, are used for this purpose and it is also said to be a preventative. The Rev. A. E. Hunt says (l. c. pp. 11, 12): "Abortion was very common, for various reasons: sometimes (as in the case of a single girl) from shame, sometimes to save the mother the trouble of child rearing. For the purposes of abortion the leaves of certain trees were chewed. The leaves of the *sesepot* [*Clerodendron* sp.], *mad lewer* [*Pouzolzia microphylla*], *ariari* and *ap* [*Macaranga tanarius*] were sometimes mixed with coco-nut milk and drunk. This caused little or no pain. Failing that, the leaves of the *tim*, *mikir* [*Terminalia catappa*], *sòbe* [*Eugenia*], *bok*, *sem* [*Hibiscus tiliaceus*] and *argerger* [*argerarger*, *Callicarpa*] were chewed together. This medicine caused great pain, but killed the child.

"When medicine failed harsher methods were resorted to. Sometimes the abdomen would be beaten with big stones, or the woman would be placed with her back against a tree, when two men would take a long pole, and, taking either end, would place it against her abdomen and by sheer pressure crush the fœtus. It need scarcely be added that such treatment frequently killed the women as well."

Mr Bruce has given me the following details. If a woman, who finds herself pregnant, wishes to induce abortion, she ties a vine round her body or a rope made of coco-nut fibre; or she climbs a coco-nut palm and bumps her stomach against the trunk in ascending and descending; or when she goes to her gardens she will fill a basket full of yams or sweet-potatoes, lie on her back and put the heavy basket on her abdomen. In some cases she presses a bamboo on her abdomen, or strikes it with something heavy and hard. The old women also recommended the simple expedient of carrying heavy loads from the gardens.

Infanticide.

Mr Hunt gives the following reasons for this practice: "After a certain number had been born, all succeeding children were destroyed, lest the food supply should become insufficient. If the children were all of one sex some were destroyed from shame, it being held proper to have an equal number of boys and girls" (l. c. p. 11).

According to Dr W. Wyatt Gill, "The custom here [Erub] and at Murray Island (and we believe throughout the Straits) has hitherto been to rear only two children in each family. The rest are strangled or buried alive by the cruel father as soon as born. Illegitimate children were invariably murdered by the mother, to avoid the toil of having to provide food for them." He then narrates how Guchen, the Polynesian teacher at Erub, adopted a newly-born girl infant whom the father was going to kill; the latter said, "I have two children already: who will be charged with the feeding of this one?" "On another occasion Guchen was too late...The Erub people, however, have promised in the future to preserve their little ones, and also to give up the embalming of the dead" [Nov. 1872] (*Life in the Southern Isles*, 1876, p. 213). On the authority of the same teacher d'Albertis states, "it is the custom to kill the female children at birth in Erub" (*New Guinea*, Vol. I. p. 238). The Rev. A. W. Murray writes that "the rule on Darnley Island was not to rear more than three children"; he also recounts the adoption of the girl by the teacher and says she had "delicate features, and a light skin, considering her parentage...the unnatural mother consented to suckle the child for one month" (*Forty Years' Mission Work etc.* 1876, p. 469).

Mr Bruce estimated that four is about the average number of children in a family, but by consulting the genealogies it is found that 2·6 is the average number excluding marriages in which there are no children, and 3·6 excluding also those in which there is only one child. Tibi and Godai (1) have the largest family on the island, with 10 children (four boys and six girls). In 1898 Mr Bruce states there were thirteen sterile married women out of a total of 211 females.

An analysis of the size of families was made by Miss Hingston with the following results: In a total of 372 families recorded in the genealogies there were 918 children, or 2·44 per family. In the present (first) generation: 138 families, 264 children, av. 1·84. In the second generation: 160 families, 409 children, av. 2·55. In the third generation: 56 families, 209 children, av. 3·73. In the fourth generation: 9 families, 27 children, av. 3. In the fifth generation: 2 families, 5 in one and 1 in the other. The following list gives the number of children in a family for each generation. Present: 1 of 10, 5 of 6, 11 of 5, 6 of 4, 23 of 3, 19 of 2, 38 of 1, 35 of 0. Second: 1 of 12¹, 5 of 7, 3 of 6, 16 of 5, 19 of 4, 27 of 3, 37 of 2, 33 of 1, 19 of 0. Third: 2 of 7, 7 of 6, 10 of 5, 9 of 4, 9 of 3, 11 of 2, 8 of 1². Fourth: 2 of 5, 1 of 4, 3 of 3, 1 of 2, 2 of 1². Taking the second and third generations only, so as to eliminate missionary influence, we find that the average numbers in the families of above three children were respectively 4·8 and 5·7. Ignoring families of 0 or 1, there is an average of 3·41 in the second generation and of 4·18 in the third. These figures tend to show that while foeticide and infanticide doubtless were prevalent, their practice did not seriously tend to affect the actual population of the island of Mer, though they prevented over-population. Out of a total of 915 children, 489, or 53·4%, are boys, and 426, or 46·5%, are girls, thus female infanticide does not appear to have produced a very marked effect upon the relative proportion of the sexes.

¹ This family (5) consisted of 11 boys and 1 girl.

² The absence of families of 0 children in these generations is probably due to their being forgotten as being of no importance in the genealogies.

The following information was obtained from Mr Bruce:

Infanticide is not now practised, although it was formerly. To a certain extent it was done in secret, but their own laws took no cognisance of it, even if it were known that the parents practised it.

Female children were more frequently killed than males, especially if there were more than one in the family, and they had male children, but if they had no male children the female child would not be destroyed unless the family was considered too large. Male children would also be destroyed if the parents had what they considered a large enough family.

The parents considered that the male child assisted to perpetuate the name and family, but that the female did not do so, but left her family and group to follow any man she fancied. It was also thought that girls required too much looking after when grown up, through young men coming to see them when they were working in the gardens, so that they were a hindrance rather than a help in garden work. Also at night the parents could not get their proper rest, through having to be continually on the alert, lest their daughter should be stolen by the young man of her choice.

Again, if the husband or wife had a quarrel with someone, they might be taunted with having a large family, and be told that all the people were talking about them, and calling them *au segseg le*, and they would then be greatly ashamed, and decide that the next child born should die. Formerly four was considered a large family, and any more than that brought ridicule on the parents, to which they are very sensitive. There was one case in court in which a husband summoned a woman for slandering his wife, by calling her *au segseg kosker*, in presence of a crowd of people. He was very sorry the woman could not be punished for the offence, and, it being explained to him that he ought to be proud of his large family (numbering three) he brightened up and said the accused woman was "no good" as she had no family and was jealous of his wife, "*E adud kosker, nole werem kak e didkit.*" 'She bad woman, no children at all.'

If the parents of the child were an old couple, they feared the ridicule and gossip the birth would cause, and the child was invariably killed whether male or female.

The father was generally consulted if he wanted the child to live, but not necessarily so if the woman herself desired the death of the child. Sometimes the husband ordered it to be destroyed and might perhaps do it himself; or the parents might arrange beforehand that the infant should be destroyed at birth.

When the child was to be destroyed the father killed it by pressing the head with his hands over the brain, *demaïser keremge* (break up head), or strangling it with a cord, *werem pap lager dimri* (child — cord tie round). They buried the body at night near the house, or took it out to the edge of the reef and sank it in the deep water with stones, as an unweighted body has sometimes turned up again on the beach. If the parents did not care about keeping the birth secret, they simply told the *auski kosker* to "*pap lager dimri a demaïser werem,*" or the husband himself did it; if inquiries were made by the neighbours, they were told the child was still-born, *bes-esmeda*.

Parents now find it profitable to have large families, for the sons can always

find plenty of employment in the pearl-shelling fleet, or *bêche-de-mer* fishing, at both of which they are well paid, receiving from thirty shillings to two pounds per month, all found, and where there are two or three sons in the family at work, it means many luxuries to the parents, in the way of calicoes, coats, and trousers, camphor-wood boxes, tobacco, and so forth.

Daughters are also found now to be very valuable property, for they are always in great demand in marriage, by their own countrymen, and also by the South-Sea, Malay, and Manila men. It is not generally a love match, but the highest bidder, the man who can give the most, is the husband the parents choose for their daughter. The daughter is of far more lasting value to the parents and relatives than a son, because the man who marries the daughter has to be continually paying and making presents to her parents, brothers, sisters, and cousins, and as there are so many, this is a continual drain on the resources of the "lucky" man.

Parents now prefer South-Sea or Manila men for sons-in-law, and in one year (1899) there have been no less than three girls married away from the island; this is causing much trepidation among the young men who want wives; and parents who have sons and cannot get wives for them are crying out that Murray Island will soon be "finished."

Although foeticide and infanticide were commonly practised, the desire for children is manifested in the frequency of adoption and the readiness with which the charge of orphan children is assumed by their relatives.

TWINS.

Mr Bruce says: "The Murray Islanders usually deny that twins have been born on the island, but I have been informed of one or two cases, though it was not publicly known that twins had been born. Sometimes one of the twins was preserved, and the other destroyed, even the husband was not informed that twins had been born, one only being shown to him; the women kept it secret from the husband, as he would be greatly ashamed to know that twins had been born. The women also profess to be greatly ashamed at the birth, as they say "it is all the same as a dog." Within the last four years three women have given birth to twins on the island. The first was the wife of the London Missionary Society Teacher, a Samoan woman. The natives pretended to be quite horrified at the idea of such an unnatural birth. Shortly after two Murray Island women had twins, I believe the first births of the kind made public. The Samoan's children lived and are thriving well. The Murray women's twins died shortly after birth only living a few days, one male child only survived of the four."

Mr Hunt says: "In case of twins the first child born was preserved and the second was destroyed. Triplets, etc., were unknown" (l. c. p. 11).

Dr C. S. Myers has put on record the following: "Twin pregnancies are rare: there are only two on record. But the scarcity of such records may be due to the fact that in former times one of the babies was always killed. To the native mind a litter of babies indicates loose morality on the part of the mother. 'Mother much

'shamed. She all same dog.' A birth of twins occurred during our visit. Later, one of them 'died.'" (*St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, xxxv. pp. 93, 94.)

CUSTOMS AFTER CHILD-BIRTH.

The customs after child-birth and the treatment of the children are pretty much the same among the Eastern as among the Western Islanders (Vol. v. p. 199).

The piercing of the septum of the nose and of the lobes of the ears took place very early in life, the former being done a few days or weeks after birth; neither has any connection with deformations that are made when mourning. What details were obtained will be found in the first volume.

Children eat the same kind of earth as pregnant women (p. 105) till about five to seven years of age, to make them strong, brave, and hardy. The Rev. A. W. Murray states that in Erub "the liver [presumably of a deceased male] was cut up and distributed among the young male members of the family to make them plucky" (l. c. p. 452).

Mr Hunt gives the following particulars concerning child-naming: "When the child was about a week old¹, friends were invited to a feast called *delek*, where a name would be decided upon. Sometimes they could not agree; and as each stuck to the name of his or her selection, the child would be called by several names. Generally the child was named by the wife's sister or by the husband's mother.

Dr Myers has made the following remarks upon the treatment of children: "The children are well cared for by their parents. The father intrusts himself with the new-born babe when the family is out gardening. It is not uncommon to see the return of a household in procession from the bush (the gardens) headed by the father, who bears in his two hands the precious infant, while behind come the wife and daughters staggering under heavy loads of coco-nuts and bananas. Children are not often disobedient, but they are never beaten by their parents. In return for their care, the children show scant affection for their parents in old age" (*St Bartholomew's Hospital Reports*, xxxv. p. 95). The fondness of parents for their children, own and adopted, was very obvious, and one frequently sees a father nursing young children. It is evident from the fearlessness of the children of all ages and the way in which they mix with their elders that they are uniformly well treated.

PUBERTY CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS.

The initiation of young men into the Bomai-Malu, Walet, and Meket Siriam cults is detailed elsewhere in this volume. We have not heard that seclusion of girls at puberty was formerly practised, certainly it does not now occur. Mr Hunt says (l. c. p. 11): "The moon was supposed to be a young man who at certain periods defiled all women and girls, causing a bloody discharge. No special custom was observed on a girl's attaining the age of puberty."

¹ Mr Bruce says, "the father gives a feast called *dilik* when the child is about a month old."

VI. COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

By A. C. HADDON.

YOUNG people had every facility for becoming acquainted with one another, not only at the numerous social functions, such as dances, feasts, distributions of food *aiswer* or *mam*, exchange of presents *tama*, serenading parties *rob wed*, the fanning game *totuam*, funeral ceremonies and the like, but as the island was so small everybody was known to everyone else and no houses or villages were really remote.

There is no doubt that marriages were usually love matches, and, as the girls had considerable licence before marriage, lovers could become intimate with one another before taking the final step.

The following account of the usual marriage customs is that published by the Rev. A. E. Hunt in the *Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. pp. 9—11:

"A young man, having seen a girl he desired, would prepare a medicine from certain native trees (*kusibager* [a zingiberaceous plant], *mar* [a scented grass-like plant from New Guinea], *pekiau* [scented bark of drift-wood from New Guinea], *kerakera* [a pungent zingiberaceous root], *pas* [Ocimum or Andropogon], *ogo*, *kokuam* [scarlet Hibiscus], and *mauteb* (female) [sic]). A very small portion of the leaves of each of these would be chewed and mixed with coco-nut oil or turtle oil and heated. A very little was then eaten, and the remainder rubbed over his body, after which he would go off to the dance. The girl, seeing him, would probably desire him and would inform a female friend of the fact. The friend (*map le*) would seek out a friend of the young man, and try to arrange matters, the girl's parents remaining in total ignorance of what was going on.

"In the night the girl would sham sleep to deceive her parents, but would really be on the alert for some signal from her lover. The young man with a few friends would secretly visit the house of the girl at night, and, on giving the signal, the latter would creep out of the house and the two lovers would run away and hide in the bush¹.

"In the morning the parents would miss the girl and go in search of her. The *map le* then calmly informed them of what had happened, and the parents, calling on their friends to help, would rush off to the village of the abductor of their daughter, brandishing their clubs and spears, and a fight would ensue, but very rarely was anyone injured. The lovers meanwhile remained in hiding pending the result of the fight.

¹ Hence the native word "to marry" (*ispili*) really means "to hide."

"The parents of the girl having vindicated their rights, returned to their own village, and a conference was held as to the amount to be paid for the girl by the bridegroom and his friends. The *map le* would then arrange a feast, and the friends were asked to contribute gifts of food, etc. which were brought and piled up in heaps on the ground.

"The female *map le* would then fetch the bride and seat her on a mat placed in a central position. This being done, the female friends of the bridegroom would bring presents of newly-made grass¹ petticoats and pile them in a heap by the side of the bride. The latter would then stand up, and one of the women would begin to put the green petticoats on her, putting one on the top of another until they reached the heart. By this time the weight of the petticoats had increased so as to render it impossible for the poor girl to stand without assistance, and she had to sit down. Next, necklaces of dogs' teeth were hung in profusion around her neck, her head, shoulders, neck and breast being first anointed with a mixture of red ochre and cocoanut oil.

"The adornment of the bride being complete, the friends of the bridegroom would prepare some food and call upon the bride's relations to come and 'shake hands' [*tag augwat*] and a procession was formed for this purpose. The bridegroom pretended to be greatly ashamed, and hid his face, holding out his hand to be shaken, the bride remaining seated in her place on the mat. In the procession, the sister of the bride (if any) came first, then the mother and father, then relatives and friends. These all brought their presents and laid them at the feet of the bride, shaking hands with her as they did so. After this the parents of the bride took a share of the gifts and departed, the weeping bride crying out *Bakeamu! bakeamu!* ('Go! go!'). Seeing the bride weeping, one of her friends would go and sit by her side to comfort her. Food is again brought by the friends of the bridegroom and the bride distributes it, the husband remaining in his place apart.

"After the food distribution the bride is carried off by the women to a house set apart for the purpose, the husband going with his male friends to the men's quarters. Then begins a period of instruction in the duties of husbands and wives, the bride being taught by the old women and the bridegroom by the old men. This lasts some days, during which the husband is fed by his mother, and the bride has to feed her husband's friends. After a few days the grass petticoats still worn by the bride become dry, and that is the signal for the proceedings to be brought to a close. The superfluous petticoats are removed, and the friends then leave the bride and bridegroom alone.

"The wife would shyly offer her husband food and he would bashfully accept. They would then eat together, and from that time they would be regarded as man and wife. The ceremony had no religious significance."

I copied the following from some MS. notes kindly lent to me many years ago by Dr MacFarlane. "The parents and friends of the betrothed assemble with the girl. The young man is sent for, both sit on a mat in the centre. A yam is broken by

¹ They never were made of "grass." A. C. H.

the young man, one end of which is given to the parents of the bride, and the other to those of the bridegroom, the middle portion is divided between the couple. The food and presents are passed over the bended heads of the couple."

I obtained the following information. When a young man came to an understanding with a girl he put his *gelar*, taboo, on her saying, "No man come humbug you. I go sleep along other girls all the time, when finished, I come take you." If she broke the *gelar*, she ran the risk of losing her lover.

When they wished to be married, the man said to the girl, "You no sleep, I come for you to-night," then as my informant laconically put it, 'night come, family sleep, girl gammon sleep, man come, make noise outside, girl savvy, go out and go to man's house.' I was assured that no impropriety took place on this occasion.

The next morning the mother looked round and missed her daughter, and they made efforts to find out where she was. Then her father, brothers, or near relations took their bows and arrows, stone-headed clubs, and sharks' teeth fastened to a stick, and went to the house of the young man's father where the girl was in hiding. The girl's relatives fought with the bridegroom's relatives, the bridegroom himself being in hiding in the bush. There was a real fight ('fight proper, no gammon') and wounds might be given, but no lives were taken. The girl's father would say to the man's father, "You go see my girl. Man belong you no good, he no give me any thing. Suppose he give me food, presents, all right."

A woman put numerous petticoats round the girl which weighed her down so much that two women had to hold her up, and her face was painted red. The father of the bridegroom gave the bride a necklace of dogs' teeth, *seserig*, and a necklace of olive shells, *waraz*. I was informed that she remained thus heavily weighted with petticoats and with the clanking ornaments, under the close superintendence of her future husband's parents for the space of one month. Then her father and relations came to *tag auywat*, that is the old method of greeting by scraping hands, and the prospective husband gave numerous presents to his father-in-law.

After this some of the petticoats were gradually removed and the old women rubbed the paint off the girl with coco-nut oil and took off the necklaces and put on numerous *o*¹ (triangular white shell pendants), which hung on her chest, and a number of *ter* or *luper* (turtle-shell bodkins which were used for shredding the leaves of which petticoats were made and for piercing the nasal septum of infants) and *sabagorar* (turtle-shell ornaments shaped more or less like fish-hooks), which hung down her back. All these ornaments are figured on pl. XVI. A C-shaped circle of red paint was inscribed round each eye—the incomplete portion being towards the median line.

Subsequently the bride gave food to her husband for the first time and they were then man and wife. During the whole of the preceding time the young man did not sleep in the same house as the girl.

Mr Bruce says: "A young bride was loaded with ornaments, which must have been very uncomfortable, she only wore them, as far as I can make out, for about

¹ Mr Bruce states that these ornaments are also called *o kaukau* or *wauri o*, and that they are worn only by married women, no single girl or woman could wear them.

two months and they were removed from her when the tiers of petticoats were taken off at the marriage feast."

Mr Bruce states that South-Sea men and others who marry native women prepare feasts at marriages, and the Miriam follow the example in a half-hearted way, but if left to themselves they do not make festive occasions of weddings¹. Marriage has never been a time of much rejoicing, but rather the opposite, as a fight was generally the consequence in the times not so very far remote; virtually it was a theft, the bride being always stolen, either with or without her own consent. Marriage is looked at from a business point of view, the parents considering how much can be obtained in the way of money and goods in exchange for the bride, while the bridegroom's friends study how much land they will get out of the bride's family.

Young men married when they were about 18 to 19 years of age, being considered fit to marry when the hair began to grow on the face. Young women married when the body was well developed and their breasts were well formed, that is when they were from 16 to 18 years of age. There is little doubt that the men marry at an earlier age now than formerly, doubtless due to the fact that they can easily earn wages by working with pearl-shellshers and bêche-de-mer fishers, and thus they can raise sufficient means to satisfy the cupidity of their prospective parents-in-law.

Formerly the people were pleased when two young people mated about the above ages, and when they began to mature, the man getting too much hair on his face, and the breasts of the woman becoming pendulous, the people ridiculed and chaffed them as being too old for marriage. Now they marry at all ages, and there are a goodly number of young women averaging from 19 to 22 years of age who are not yet married; the reason being that the parents prevent them from marrying, wishing them to wait until they get a wealthy husband, such as a South-Sea or Manila man, as these can generally give more in the form of goods and cash than a Miriam lad can give, but if left to their own choice Mr Bruce thinks the girls prefer their own countrymen. Want of capital, as gardens, calico, cash, etc. prevent the young men from getting wives.

Mr Bruce says: "The only man on the island who can be considered an old bachelor, and not likely to get married is Memi of Bòged (7 B); he is considered weak in intellect, and comes of a family several members of which have been similarly afflicted; his sister was married, although mentally weaker than her brother; Memi has plenty of land, and if there had been no objection to him he would have been married. There are a great many widowers who would like to re-marry, but the widows prefer a young man, or to remain widows. Paipe of Babud (9 C) is the only woman who may be considered as an old maid, she has had plenty of offers of marriage but seems to prefer remaining single, she is a hard working woman of about forty years of age, and her position very much resembles that of some of her white sisters, as she seems to have devoted her life to the purpose of rearing her nieces and great nieces, she has three different families of them to provide for. The last family she took under her care was that of her deceased brother (Baigo); the widow married a

¹ Feasting is principally connected with the death-ceremonies.

young man, and Paipe took charge of the family as she thought the young man would not look after them properly, and the mother did not particularly want them, so I really think Paipe has not time to get married; always when I see her I ask her, 'When is it to be?' Paipe shrugs her shoulders and says, 'Ah! what's the good of it?' (*Waiiai! nalugelam?*)

"Probably every one on the island of a marriageable age could get a wife up to the last few years, but in the future I think it will be different, as so many women are getting married to strangers, or being reserved for that purpose, that young men will find it difficult to find wives."

I am indebted to Dr Myers for permission to extract the following account from his note-book. A curiously complicated love affair was for some weeks the main topic in the island during our stay there. Night after night the elders of the families interested met and discussed solutions of the difficult problem. Mr Bruce said that almost invariably during the past fortnight someone knocked at his door just as he was about to sleep, asking for advice; as a matter of fact marriage is now unusual in Mer, unless attended by complications such as these. A year previously a young girl named Maima (21 A) sent a boy Aki (22) a pocket-handkerchief as a declaration of her affections. Aki was at that time far too proud to have anything to do with his forward lover. However the heads of the families who were interested met together, and it was agreed that Maima should marry Aki; in exchange for which Milpal, Maima's brother, should marry Ikob (1). Ikob had always been considered as Aki's sister; she is actually the daughter of Tibi, who gave her when a baby to be adopted by Aki's father who had no daughter. Later Ikob wrote to Maima (no doubt under the pressure of her relatives) that she could not marry Milpal as she was not of the same blood and flesh as Aki. Aki was by this time desirous of Maima, who wrote to him evidently at the dictation of her friends (Milpal being then away on a shelling lugger), "Your sister fooled my brother; I fool you now. I send back your ring." Various relations of Maima interested themselves in her behalf. A youth named Madsa (8 A) was also a suitor for her hand. Jimmy Rice (26), her uncle, who said he had given her calico and 'looked out for' her when a child, declared that he would not allow the marriage of Maima with Madsa, no doubt because he foresaw no prospect of presents from the latter. Madsa had one unmarried sister, Kai, but she could not wed Milpal because Madsa had been adopted by Sisa (4 c), and apparently Kai was no longer regarded as his sister. The father through adoption should have provided a daughter, but as neither Sisa nor Ulai (4 c), Sisa's *le*, had any daughters, nothing could be done. On the death of Sisa, Harry, the old Mamoose, had become Madsa's guardian, but here again there was no help, for Harry too had no daughters. Maima was an orphan living with Debe Wali, her sister's husband. Debe Wali gave a vivid account of his rude awakening from his slumbers by the raps of Madsa and his friend Tapaun upon the door. Madsa was however beloved by a girl named Diwadi (11) living at Akup. Her people endeavoured to force her into a marriage with Pakin, the son of Sailsa Lifu of Darnley Is. Pakin, who was away on the reef, found no favour with the lady. The same fate attended Giaz, a young Murray Islander, whose cause was urgently forwarded by his relative Debe Wali.

Since we left the island Mr Bruce has sent us an account of the termination of these complicated love affairs. When it was found that the marriage met with such determined opposition, Maima was abducted by Madsa and his friends. The case was tried in the court

on the following morning and the girl was returned to her family. Mr Bruce then endeavoured to exert his influence in favour of this marriage which seemed to him suitable in all respects, but the girl's friends were obdurate and refused to hear of the marriage till Milpal had found a wife. Later in the year, however, Madsa and Maima went to Erub with many of the Murray Islanders on the occasion of the opening of a new church, and here the influence of the Samoan teacher and other South-Sea men, who had throughout favoured the marriage, was so strong that the wedding took place in spite of the protests of the girl's relatives.

Things were managed very differently in the olden times. Then a girl, falling in love with the fine physique or the agile movements of a young dancer, would communicate her desires by the aid of a go-between male friend and escape with her lover at night from the house of her parents. In the morning she would be brought back, a sham fight would take place between the relatives of the happy couple, and many presents would be bestowed on the parents of the bride. Finally with due formalities she would be given over to the bridegroom.

Weddings are determined at the present day less by feelings of admiration or affection than by the measure of wealth which the marriage will bring to the parents of the bride. In most cases payment by the bridegroom is obviated by an exchange of daughters; that is to say, the parents of a girl select for her a man whose parents will give his sister to a brother of his bride¹. On such occasions, presents of comparatively trivial value pass between the two families. Perhaps the practice of exchange is the cause of some unusually early marriages, which have lately taken place. The older people seem to recognise the possible evil, as they frequently send the bridegroom away on a shelling lugger for the year immediately after the wedding. A man leaving the island for some time will put his wife under the care of a relative or near friend, who, as he usually sleeps under the same roof with his *protégée*, has been known to fall to the temptation of his position.

All marriages are now solemnised in the church by the South Sea teacher and these are the only marriages that take place in the island. South Sea men sometimes get married to Miriam women at Thursday Island, as it saves them trouble with the bride's friends; several of them have been married at Mabuiag and Erub and these are not registered at Mer. We witnessed the marriage of Dick (13 A) and Aba (7 D) in the church on May 11, 1898. Dick was supported by Jimmy (26) who was his *kaimeg* (friend or companion), and Aba was supported by her friend Kaima (4 A) who was her *neitarwet*. The *kaketut* held for this wedding is described on p. 119.

According to Mr Bruce it seems that in former days sexual morality was lax among unmarried girls, though strict among married women; but now there seems to be a tendency in the opposite direction. A "good wife," as she was called, was one who was proud of her husband's successes with unmarried women.

We did not hear of any case of divorce, but Mr Hunt says "Divorce was permissible for adultery on the part of the wife, but the wife could not divorce her husband" (*l.c.* p. 11). Dr MacFarlane informed me that adultery was uncommon and that the husband of an adultress speared her on the legs or arms and sent her away.

¹ As among the Western Islanders (Vol. v. p. 231) sisters were exchanged for wives and brothers for husbands, this was called *koko keu* or *keauk*; these were not necessarily own sisters or brothers.

KAKETUT, PRESENT OF FOOD.

Kaketut is a ceremonial present of food given by the bridegroom to his wife's relatives and their return present to his relations. The ceremony may take place any time up to some years after the marriage, but it is never omitted; the presents are not regarded as marriage presents.

If a recently married man has plenty of food in his garden he says to his wife, "We will give your father a *kaketut*," or she may first make the suggestion. When they have settled the matter, the woman tells her father and arranges a day for the ceremony. He goes with his friends about two hours before sundown to his son-in-law's place where the food has been previously set in heaps on the ground.

They generally have a small preliminary feast and visitors begin to gather around as they know the *kaketut* is to be presented, and it always causes a lot of fun. When all are ready for the ceremony, the one to receive the present and his friends take their stand beside the heap of food, three or four of them clasp each other with their arms (pl. XV. figs. 3, 4) and bend their heads towards the centre of the circle; when they are in this position the givers of the present pile the food up on their heads, necks and shoulders. When they consider there is as much as they can bear, the master of the ceremonies claps his hands and calls out "*Sina*," "Enough." Immediately on hearing the hand-clap the friends of the recipients relieve them of their load by throwing it off as quickly as they can. As soon as the last object is removed, the husband's party lose no time in piling another load on the men's backs, and the wife's party show their dexterity in handling the food by relieving their friends as soon as the signal "stop!" has been given. So it goes on until the heaps of food have been finished. Sometimes a man has to be relieved, not being able to stand the strain, and it may happen when they are strong able fellows and great piles put on, that other male friends will creep in underneath and let the chests of the men rest on their backs for support. Occasionally a woman will join the recipient group.

Great fun is caused by banging the baskets of food on the heads of the recipients, a large heavy basket will be swung on a bamboo between two men and then bumped down on the bent men. When all the food is finished, someone takes a vessel of water and dashes it over the recipients, or two young coco-nuts are taken and cracked together over their heads, which are wetted with the dripping fluid. Mr Bruce has seen handfuls of flour subsequently thrown over the wet men, which made them look very ludicrous. *Kaketut* is always a source of great amusement to the spectators, but not to the recipients of the loads, and Mr Bruce has seen men with stiff necks and sore backs for days after the ceremony. Sometimes the friends are so anxious to ease their relatives that they will begin to remove the food before notice is given and then a row ensues—but it is mostly a wordy war. The idea seems to be to give as much pain and ridicule as they can along with the present.

The present is not strictly confined to food stuffs from the garden, a bag of flour, a camphor-wood box, calico, or whatever came to hand might be thrown pell-mell, in order to make the present look as lavish as possible.

When the recipient thinks he is able he will give a *kaketut* in return, for in all such presentations there is always a return, nothing is given for nothing. The custom, however, keeps up friendly intercourse between the families and often helps to make them friends again after their family squabbles. Very often the parents and family will have no intercourse with their daughter and son-in-law after a marriage of which they disapprove until *kaketut* has been given. The ceremony is not confined to son- and father-in-law but may take place among any relatives, and women receive it as well as men.

The receiver of the present brings with him his *negwam*, and failing these, he brings his *le*, either his clan or his own brothers.

After distribution of *kaketut*, the food is carried off to the recipient's place where it is shared out among those who have assisted him in the ceremony.

Kaketut is always given at *nur*, harvest time, when food is plentiful. A man or woman may wait for years until a seasonable time arrives, when they have food in abundance, as the object in *kaketut* is to make as large a display as possible.

Dr Myers made two photographs of a *kaketut* he witnessed in July, which was held near Zomared in connection with a death-feast, *bud lewer*, for Billy's child, Morris, and Ned of Dauar. As a number of friends of both parties were assembled, Aba (7 D), wife of Dick Tui (13 A), decided to take this opportunity to give *kaketut* to (1) Nini (27), sister of Pasi and widow of Giza (7), because she was married to a kinsman of Aba's father, Gris¹; and (2) to Ulai (4 c) because her mother, Seker, who was an Erub woman, was called *berbet* by Ulai; she was not Ulai's sister, only *tebud berbet*, that is a friendly sister.

In fig. 3, pl. XV., A is Ulai, B is Nini. Two men are swinging a large kind of yam, *kakigaba*, on a bamboo, to bump it on Nini's back, and Arker (c) is helping to lift the root on to the back of Nini, because her husband Kriba (29) is a relative of Dick Tui. D is Bòged (12), wife of Gizu (4), who is nervously guiding and telling the men how to put on the *kakigaba*, as her husband is one of the recipients. She is there to assist Nini, but she is no relative. The yelling and screaming crowd are enjoying the prospect of seeing someone they have no love for getting a good thump on the head with the root. Nini has thrown something over her, to save her dress from being spoiled. In the background can be seen three tall crates, one of which has been emptied, one is full, and a man is taking food from another.

Fig. 4, pl. XV. represents another *kaketut* that took place at the same time. Su (21 A), wife of Jimmy Rice (26), gave *kaketut* to Alo (18 B); she called Alo *baba*, he was no relation but Alo's father and Su's father were great friends².

A is Alo; B is Tanu (18), *le* to Alo, who is helping Alo; and Akoko [c] (18) the wife of Barsa (20) is also helping Alo as she is Tanu's sister and Alo's *berbet*. Toik [p] (16) is helping Su because he is a *negwam* (his mother's brother's son) of Jimmy Rice³. Su is on the far side helping to pile on the food. They are standing in position to get the photograph taken; otherwise there would be no time lost in putting on or taking off the food.

¹ In the genealogies Aba's father is called Diri (7 D); probably these are two names for the same person.

² Alo's mother came from the same village (Werbadu) as Su's father, but no genealogical connection is recorded.

³ Toik is Jimmy Rice's mother's brother's daughter's husband.

VII. THE REGULATION OF MARRIAGE.

By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THIS article is based mainly on the data derived from the analysis of the genealogical tables. This analysis has been carried out chiefly by Miss A. Hingston to whose help in this respect I am very greatly indebted. An account of the laws regulating marriage was also obtained from the natives, and there was found to be a general agreement between this account and that derived from the study of the 397 marriages recorded in the genealogical tables.

MARRIAGES OUTSIDE THE MIRIAM COMMUNITY.

Out of the 397 marriages, 70 were with inhabitants of other islands of Torres Straits or with members of other races, 38 men and 32 women having married in this way.

There have been 39 marriages with inhabitants of Erub and Ugar, the two islands which make up, with Mer, Dauar and Waier, the Eastern group. Of these marriages with other islands of the Eastern group, 24 were between Miriam men and women of Erub, eight between Miriam women and Erub men, while there have been five marriages of Miriam men with Ugar women and two of Miriam women with Ugar men. Marriages in which Miriam men take women from other islands of the Eastern group are thus much more frequent than those in which Miriam women leave their island. Erub women have a great reputation among the Murray Islanders as hard workers, and the comparatively small number of marriages of Miriam women outside their island suggests that they have not an equal reputation with respect to this first requisite in a wife. Many of the marriages with Erub and Ugar are recent, but such marriages have taken place as far back as the genealogical record extends, though it is probable that with increasing communication they are becoming more frequent.

There are only four marriages of Miriam people with inhabitants of the islands intermediate between the Eastern and Western groups. Three men have married women from Masig, Waraber and Aurid, and one woman has married a man of Zamut.

At the time of our visit there had been only four marriages with members of the Western group. One man had married a woman of Tutu and had gone to live on this island with his wife; two women had married Mabuiag men and one a man of Saibai. All these marriages are quite recent, and are due to the breaking down of the old division between the two groups. Mr Bruce tells us that other marriages

have taken place recently between Miriam women and Mabuig men and it seems probable that they will become more frequent.

Only two marriages are recorded with natives of New Guinea, a Murray man in each case marrying a woman from the Fly River. Neither marriage is quite recent, but probably they have taken place since the coming of the missionaries to Torres Straits.

Two men have married Australian women in recent years, and in one case the woman was still on the island at the time of our visit.

In all the other marriages of the Murray Islanders outside their community women of the island had married men from various parts of the Pacific, with the exception of one case in which a Miriam man had married a Lifu girl. The largest number of marriages were with natives of Rotumah, of whom there were many on the island. Some of these marriages had been only temporary, having been dissolved when the husbands returned to their own homes. There were many children of these marriages living on the island and, as they are now reaching a marriageable age, there will soon be a very extensive intermixture of foreign blood in the population.

Marriages with South-Sea Islanders are very popular among the parents of daughters on account of the presents received from their sons-in-law, and in consequence these marriages are becoming so frequent that Mr Bruce tells us that young Murray Islanders are beginning to find it difficult to get wives.

In defining their marriage regulations, the social unit of which the islanders usually speak is the village. They say that a man must not marry his father's village or his mother's village or that of his father's mother, and if one of his ancestors had been adopted he is also debarred from marrying into the village to which he would have belonged by actual descent. Sometimes these restrictions are put into a form defined by kinship terms, and a man would say that he might not marry his *berbet* or his *negwam*, but these kinship terms are now applied so widely that there is little doubt that a man sometimes marries a woman whom he would call *negwam* in some distant way.

The genealogical record has been analysed to ascertain how far these marriage restrictions have been observed in practice. There is no single case in which two people of the same village have married one another. If we regard the people of a village as a clan, using this as a term for the social unit which forms the basis of a system of exogamy, the genealogical record shows that the regulation that a man shall not marry a member of his own clan is strictly observed.

Similarly there is no case in the genealogies in which a man has married into the village of his father's mother, but owing to the limited number of generations to which most of the genealogies extend, the number of cases in which this point could be tested is not very large. There is one case (Neke, 1 A) in which a woman has married a man of her father's mother's village.

The genealogies record six cases of marriage with the village of the mother. Thus both Olmek and Nobo (4 D) married women of Eger, the village of their mother, Meker. Olmek had, however, been adopted by Nau (18) of Er, and though, no doubt, Nau would have taken care that his adopted son should not marry a woman of Sebeg, his

real father's village, it is not probable that the same care would have been taken in the case of a woman of his mother's village. It is possible that the same explanation may hold of the other five cases of marriage with the mother's village, i.e. those of Giza (12), Gabi (12 c), Mabo (14 A), Ununi (17 A), and Giaz (25). In the absence of a record of the adoptive as well as of the real parentage in the pedigrees, this point must be left open.

There was some question whether there was a regulation prohibiting marriage with the village of the mother's mother, and here the evidence from the genealogies is quite enough to show that, if there ever was such a regulation, it has not been followed as far back as the pedigrees extend. The number of cases in which the record allows this question to be tested is very small, and yet it shows that four marriages of this kind have taken place, viz. those of Bame and Arei (2), of Dau (12) and of Jimmy Rice (26).

Another marriage restriction of which we were told by the people was that with the child of the mother's sister, and there is no case in the genealogies in which the children of two own sisters have married one another. The interest of this regulation is that it is clearly a regulation by kinship. The children of a woman might marry with several different villages, and there would thus come about a restriction on marriage with certain members of certain villages, though marriage was not restricted with members of those villages in general. In such a case the people must certainly have had in their minds a bond of kinship; the regulation must have taken the form that a man must not marry his *berbet*, and not, as seemed most usual with the Miriam, that he must not marry such or such a village.

In none of the cases recorded in the genealogies in which men have married women of their mother's, or their father's mother's village, has there been any close tie of blood-kinship traceable through the genealogies, and it is probable that in such cases the people take into account the degree of nearness of blood relationship when considering whether a man shall marry into the village of his mother or other prohibited section of the community. It is indeed possible that in other cases the people have the kinship-tie more in their minds than I have supposed, and that, though they always talk of marrying such and such a village, they usually think of the bond of kinship which attaches to the membership of the village.

One of the marriage regulations described by the islanders cannot be tested by the genealogies. It seemed clear that a restriction dependent on real parentage may extend for several generations in the case of an adopted son. Thus I was told that the sons of Pasi (27) would not be allowed to marry girls from the village of Las, because Koit, their great-great-grandfather had been a man of Las by birth and had been adopted by a Dauar man belonging to the district of Giar pit. Here the fact of real parentage in the case of an adopted child influences the marriage for four generations, and if both real and adoptive parentage had been recorded, our knowledge of marriage regulations would, no doubt, be much more exact.

On the whole we may say that there is a fair agreement between the account of the marriage regulations formulated by the people themselves and those reached by a study of the genealogical record. This agreement is less close than among the Western Islanders, but the greater discrepancy is doubtless due to the fact that the

record is much less complete in Murray Island and much more open to the sources of error arising from the great prevalence of the practice of adoption.

The genealogical record has been analysed by Miss Hingston with the idea of seeing if the regulation of marriage will throw any light on several features of the social organisation.

The island is divided into certain districts shown in the map on p. 170, and there is a question whether these districts were at one time concerned in the regulation of marriage. The analysis makes it quite clear that at the present time marriage frequently takes place between people belonging to the same district, but such marriages are perhaps less frequent than those between people of different districts. Thus in the Kòmet district no marriages have taken place between villages immediately adjacent to one another except one between Saugiz and Bòged, though there are several marriages between other villages of the district and as many as four between the villages of Sebeg and Bòged. Similarly there are no marriages between villages immediately adjacent to one another in the Zagareb district from Kop to Mei except one between Ulag and Mei, though here again several marriages have taken place between other villages of the district. Among the Samsep and other districts of the south-east side of the island, on the other hand, immediate contiguity of village appears to have been no bar to marriage, and two marriages have taken place between Las and Areb, between Areb and Warwe and between Er and Eger respectively, while single marriages have occurred between Mergar and Terker in the Mergarem district. On the whole it would seem as if there was an objection to marriage between contiguous villages, at any rate on one side of the island, and it may be that this is a survival of a time when marriage was regulated by the districts into which the island is divided (for further consideration of this point see article on "Social Organisation").

Another problem of the social organisation of the Miriam is whether there has existed in the island a dual marrying organisation into two phratries. Here again the analysis fails to show any traces of such an organisation. Marriages between opposite sides of the island are perhaps rather more frequent than between villages of the same side, but this might be expected if marriages are still to some extent influenced by the division into districts and it cannot be said that the marriage record lends any support to the view that a dual organisation has existed in the Murray Islands. It must be remembered, however, that in Mabuia, where there is still evidence of the previous existence of a dual organisation, all traces of it had completely disappeared so far as the regulation of marriage was concerned. When marriage is prohibited with the relatives of both father and mother, all traces of a dual organisation must of necessity disappear in a few generations, and as this double restriction on marriage is now present in both the groups of Torres Straits, it is not to be expected that the genealogical record would provide any evidence of a phratric arrangement even if it had at one time existed.

EXCHANGE OF BROTHERS AND SISTERS.

The practice, called *koko keu* or *keauk*, of exchanging brothers and sisters is said by the people to be their custom. The marriage of a man with a woman will be greatly facilitated if the man has a sister who can become the wife of the brother of the woman, and an excellent example of the part this regulation may play in marriage negotiations has been given on p. 116.

As will be apparent from this history there seems to be at present much confusion in the minds of the natives whether adopted brothers and sisters have the same standing in this matter as blood relatives, but there can be little doubt that the proper custom is that adoption in this, as in other respects, made the child completely a member of the family of his foster-parents.

Although it is quite clear that exchange is a well established Miriam custom, there are not many definite examples in the genealogies, and only ten examples are to be found of exchange between own brothers and sisters. If, however, *le* in the wider sense are included, there would undoubtedly be other cases, but here as elsewhere the exact study of the subject is rendered unsatisfactory by my failure to record adoption in compiling the pedigrees.

POLYGAMY.

There is at the present time no case in which a man has more than one wife, and only five such marriages are recorded in the genealogies, viz. those of Kaimai (3), Masig (4 A), Tata (5), Koit (14), and Aporo (14 B). One of the wives of the last is still alive and two of the other cases were in the generation preceding that of men now living. Only in one case, that of Koit, had a man more than two wives, and the old men say that no other case can be remembered. It is noteworthy that in three out of the five cases, one or both of the wives were from Erub, just as in Mabuia one of the wives in several of the cases of polygamy came from Moa. If a man wanted more than one wife, it was probably easier to get the second wife from another island. As so often in polygamous peoples, it would appear that in the Murray Islands only the more powerful members of the community were able to obtain more than one wife; Mr Bruce says that if a man wanted a second wife he had to be either rich in land or in native articles of value, or he must have been prominent in the Malu fraternity (*tarim zogo le*) when he could command an extra wife from any village he wished to punish and the woman would be given to appease him. Koit is said to have been able to obtain his wives because he was one of the chief *zogo le* connected with Malu at that time.

There is no trace of the existence of polyandry at any time.

THE LEVIRATE.

After the death of a man his brothers had the right of marrying his widow, the eldest brother having the first claim. If none of the own brothers wished to marry her, she could be married by some other *le* or by a *negwam* of her husband, the marriage in the former case being called *le-la maik ispeda*, lit. brother's widow married. That she

should be taken by the *negwam* seemed to be in some way improper, for the name given to this practice was *bud dipu*, or "defile mourning."

Mr Bruce states that unless she was a very old woman, a widow was always taken by her husband's relatives and that her own relatives had no right to interfere as she belonged to the husband's family as long as they chose to claim her.

According to the genealogical record the levirate custom has not been by any means invariably followed. In the pedigrees there are recorded 23 cases in which a woman had more than one husband and in only six of these were two of the husbands own brothers, while in another case the husbands were men of the same village. It is possible that in some of the other cases the husbands were related as *negwam* or in some other way, but the genealogical record is not sufficiently complete to follow many of them out to any extent.

Although at the present time the levirate marriage is probably no longer followed, a widow still often lives with her brother-in-law who acts as guardian to her children and has the management and profit of any property which will be theirs when they grow up.

In the cases recorded in the genealogies, the widow was probably taken by a brother younger than the deceased husband, but there is no rule that this must be so; it would seem clear, on the other hand, that if a younger brother died, his elder brothers would have the first claim on the widow.

Mr Bruce tells us that in recent years there have been several marriages between young men and elderly widows with grown families, owing to the fact that the young men had not sufficient means to satisfy the parents of unmarried girls and were able to obtain the widows with very small outlay.

VIII. FUNERAL CEREMONIES¹.

BY C. S. MYERS AND A. C. HADDON.

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1. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE CEREMONIES.

(i) *Treatment of the Corpse.*

FOR twenty-four hours after death the body lay "in state" on the ground, cried over by the women and sung to by the men (pp. 129, 130). It was then placed upon a horizontal wooden framework where it remained for two or three days, until it was taken out to sea (pp. 135, 136). After due preparation the body was lashed to another framework which was set up vertically in the rear of the house (p. 136). In course of time the body became dry and mummified. Thereupon it was affixed to a new framework and was brought within the house. Here it remained until it fell to pieces. It was then removed to the "bush" (pp. 148, 149). The head was frequently preserved and employed for purposes of divination.

¹ A considerable amount of the information given in this section was obtained from Mr Bruce.

Bodies which were foul from disease and the bodies of children and of old men were often not prepared for mummification, but were taken at once to the gardens in the bush, where they were placed upon a framework and left to decay; the head being sometimes kept in the village and decorated with care according to usual custom. Or they were buried (*atkobei*) close by the house. In that event, a stout piece of vine stem or sinnet was pushed up the nose into the mouth and brought out again by means of a cut in the skin below the chin. The ends of the stem were then tied firmly together so as to keep the lower jaw in place. After burial a stick was placed in the ground, and to its lower end was tied the above-mentioned stem. When decomposition had sufficiently advanced, the stem was pulled upon and the entire head was thus brought away from the body and preserved.

(ii) *Ethical Significance of the Ceremonies.*

Had not the very old and very young dead been exempted from the full rites described in the following pages, the living would have been perpetually occupied with funeral celebrations. Nevertheless as many as possible of the necessary ceremonies were always performed in order that the ghost¹ of the deceased might not feel slighted, for otherwise it was sure to bring trouble on the relatives, by causing strong winds to destroy their gardens and to break down their houses. Should trees or a house belonging to any one be destroyed from this cause at any time, the disaster was attributed to the displeased ghost of some departed relative. But the displeasure might have some other cause than disregard of the mourning ceremonies. Indeed it is still believed that a ghost may feel resentment when children of the deceased are neglected or wronged, or when land or chattels of the deceased are taken by those who have no claim to them. No doubt in the past such fear of the ghost's wrath had a deterrent effect on wrongdoers, and helped to keep the people straight, although now they look rather to the civil laws than to the ghosts as a means of getting their rights and punishing offenders.

(iii) *The Këbér Ceremonies.*

Of the numerous feasts held at different stages of the funeral rites, two were specially connected with mourning. In the one (pp. 156, 157) the relatives were marked by the nearest relative of the deceased with two streaks of a blackish paint made from a New Guinea earth. In the other (pp. 146, 147) the friends were marked by a non-mourner with a single streak of a paint made from charred coco-nut husk.

The majority of the feasts took place during the numerous *keber* ceremonies (pp. 131-145). They were sometimes held in celebration of more than one death. In this case several families would assist in collecting the food, labour would be economised and the pile of food would be larger than if only one death were being commemorated, "making the non-relatives green with envy to see such piles and causing them to make mental resolutions that at the next death in *their* clan they would make a larger display of food" (J. Bruce).

Mr Bruce defines the term *keber* as the spiritual essence of the deceased. It was represented either by the body of the man or by any object which was regarded as

¹ For the distinction here made between "ghosts" and "spirits," see Religion.

his during his life or after his death. Thus in the "theft of the *keber*" (pp. 149, 150) it mattered not how insignificant were the object stolen, so long as it was regarded as part of the deceased himself. The theft of any portion of the body, or even of a post or part of a post used in the funeral ceremonies, was considered equivalent to disturbance of the ghost of the deceased itself. In this connection Mr Bruce adds that by such theft the ghost of the deceased was made restless and was inclined to give trouble to his living relations "by inflicting injury or by disturbing them until they regained possession of the stolen *keber*."

The first *keber* of Terer and Aukem (pp. 131-133) stands on a rather different footing from the others. It was the dramatisation of a legend that existed not only in Murray Island (pp. 31-33) but under a different form in Mabuiag (cf. legend of Aukem and Tiai, Vol. v. p. 56). Terer is said to have been the first person from whose body the epidermis was removed by scraping (*Terer e paura adem giz*, "Terer he skin to ancient origin"). For this reason the *keber* ceremony of Terer and Aukem was performed before removal of the body to the framework. And just as in the legend Terer's mother, Aukem, believed her son to be a spirit and ordered him to go to Boigu, so in the *keber* ceremony Terer was supposed to take away the ghosts of the dead to Boigu.

The men who impersonated the ghost of the deceased in the ceremony termed *eud lera roairoai* (pp. 139-141) were called *keber le*, i.e. *keber* people.

These *keber* ceremonies have one feature in common: they had all been introduced from the Western islands of the Torres Straits. Thus it came about that the words of the songs (cf. Vol. IV.) were almost meaningless to the Murray Islander. Their attempts at translation were for the most part pure guesses. "They are only words," the islanders said, "we don't know, but our fathers knew. The words are of no use; the tune is good¹."

The *keber* ceremonies were not considered "*zogo*"; in other words, they were not so sacred as the mysteries of Bomai, Malu, and Waiet. "Bomai came before Waiet." To Waiet the islanders attribute the introduction of the various *keber* celebrations. Waiet first settled on Waier (see The Waiet *zogo*) and gave these rites to the Waier and Dauar people, who claim that their islands were the *giz ged*, the "original places" of the *keber*. The Waier and Dauar people in turn instructed certain groups of people on Mer: "they taught them, and then gave it (the *keber*) to them."

For example, Waiet taught the Dauar people the *zera markai keber*² (p. 133). They gave it to the people of Sebeg (*Kõmet le*) and Er on Murray Island and in course of time ceased to practise it themselves³. Thus it came about that when a

¹ As Mr Bruce says, "they scarcely know the words, or the meaning of them; they say the words of a song are not necessary but the air only. But to see and hear the men sing it so earnestly and seriously, one would think the words of great importance. One word, such as the name of a person, is quite sufficient to make a song without the addition of any other word; they keep on repeating it, sometimes adding or omitting a syllable."

² The name is indifferently pronounced *dsena markai* or *dsara markai*. *Markai* was often pronounced *merkai*. *Mar* and *lamar* are the equivalents of the Western *mari* and *markai*; see the section on Religion for an account of these ghosts and spirits.

³ Mr Bruce also writes, "this was carried on by the *Kõmet le*; the *zogo ged* (home of the cult) was Sebeg." According to another account, Waiet gave it to the *Kõmet le*, but the Geaurem *le*, whose headquarters were at Er, brought it independently from Mabuiag.

Dauar or Waier man died, the Er people received a fire-signal and went over in their canoes and performed the *zera markai keber* for them. The people of Er also performed this *keber* on the death of one of their own people, and those of Sebeg performed it upon the death of one of theirs. The *zera markai keber* was only performed upon these occasions; those taking part in it were supposed to be ghosts.

So, too, the *baur siriam*¹ *keber* (pp. 141, 142) had been taught to the Kòmet *le* and to their neighbours the Meaurem *le*: no other folk were permitted to take part in it. The spears (*baur*) and other objects used in the ceremony were kept in a special house at Korog. The Kòmet *le* also had the *wezwez keber* (p. 142). The Zagareb *le*² had the *galbol* (whale), the *maid* (magic) and the Nagir (Mount Ernest Island)³ *siriam keber*. The Samsep *le* had the Tur *siriam keber*, the Geaurem *le* the *seber keber*, and the Mergarem *le* the Paremar (Coco-nut Island) *siriam keber*, the Eger *le* the *siwi*⁴ *keber* and the Kameri *le* of Dauar the *dumi ebe keber*.

Since the right to perform the various *keber* ceremonies was strictly safeguarded by different groups of islanders, the funeral rites differed in number and character according to the group or district to which the deceased belonged. If there were many of the *keber* to represent, it would be sunset before the day's ceremonies were ended. But the *keber* were never prolonged after daylight nor were they continued on the morrow. As a rule they were finished by about an hour before sunset.

Mr Bruce observes that in these celebrations "there did not appear to be any master of ceremonies. All seemed to know their own parts fairly well, but at the start of each day's proceedings and in the changes of the programme, there were always a lot of confusion and a babel of tongues at work; but when once started, it was wonderful how well they carried out all the details of each ceremony."

2. DETAILS OF THE CEREMONIES.

(i) *Procedure immediately after Death.*

As soon as a death had occurred, the women of the village started their wail (*eb ezoli*), which was so weird and sorrowful that its cause would be unmistakeable even to a stranger who had never heard it before. The wail is best likened to the wind

¹ Unfortunately we have no precise information concerning the term *siriam*. From a note obtained by one of us in 1888 it would seem that the Miriam *siriam* is the same as the Western *kwod*, in which case the *keber* would originally be the funeral ceremonies of a local group held in their particular ceremonial ground. Mr Bruce has no doubt that originally each of these *siriam* ceremonies had its own special "supernatural function." He leaves the question open whether at the present time their real symbolic meaning is merely concealed or is no longer remembered by the islanders. He observes that there was great diversity of costume among the different *keber*, but that a common character was recognisable in all, showing that they belonged to the spirit world.

² We assume that the Zagareb *le* in this instance were not the larger community, but the inhabitants of the locality Zagareb.

³ Attention has already been drawn to the culture influence of the Western Islanders upon the Miriam (pp. 40-45, 128), and allusion will later be made to the same subject in dealing with the Walet *zogo*, and elsewhere.

⁴ A man named Siwi occurs in the Western folk tales (Vol. v. p. 26), but there is no indication that he has any relation to the *siwi keber*.

reverberating through the hollow bamboo posts of the village fences; the sounds consisting of a very gradual and continuous descent from a high to a low note. There was a total lack of unison in the cries of the several women, and it was this that gave so strange a character to the whole. The wailing lasted only a few minutes on the spot, but it was quickly taken up by the neighbouring villages and so passed round the island. Messengers were also sent to the relatives and friends, who now made their way to the house of the deceased.

Very often the relatives began to assemble at the house of the sick man some days before he had passed away. They brought their sleeping-mats and their food with them, they crowded into the hot, stifling death-chamber and with merry gossiping talk awaited the end¹. In some cases the patient recovered and they went dejectedly away. Instances are even known when after the death-wails had started he regained consciousness: or, as the natives firmly believe, after having died he came to life again.

In favourable weather the corpse was placed on the ground upon a mat in front of the house, the arms were placed close to the side, and the great toes were fastened to one another by a string made of the coco-nut husk, so as to keep the legs together.

The hair of the head (and face) was cut off and thrown away. The length of the nose was measured with a piece of wood, which was preserved by a female relative for subsequent use in making a wax mask for the prepared skull (p. 149). A small bundle, about four inches long, of dried banana leaves or of the shredded sago palm leaves from New Guinea, was rolled up and placed within the mouth to prevent the escape of objectionable odour; this was called *te sursur*. The dead man's bow and arrow and his stone-headed club were laid beside him. From one of two croton plants, placed in the ground, one at the head and the other at the feet of the corpse, was suspended his tally, or *kupe*, which enumerated the occasions of his intercourse with married women and unmarried girls. No tallies of other achievements were brought here. The wooden stem of his stone top, *kolap pes*, was hung above him. It was the duty of the *negwam* to prepare the corpse, this relative being of the same sex as the deceased.

Many relatives and friends cried and wailed over the body, and at times mourners put their mouths to the ears of the corpse and sent messages to friends who had gone before. The nearest relatives, e.g. the wife and mother, sat continuously by the head of the deceased. Others were at their fires preparing food, laughing, joking and eating, until those who were crying tired and desired to rest. In this way the lamentations continued until about an hour after sunset, when the singers (*wed le*) and the drummers (*warup le*) arrived. The dead man's bow and arrow were now taken into the house, but his *kupe* was left hanging.

(ii) *The Asasem Wed.*

The *asasem wed* was now sung, the drummers sitting down near the body, the singers surrounding the drummers, and the rest of the people joining in from without. It seems that originally the *asasem wed* was connected with the *nam zogo* at Babud and confined to the Meaurem *le* and the Kòmet *le*, living on the north-west of the

¹ Mr Bruce writes: "One would never dream it was a mourning assemblage, as all are busy chatting, laughing, and eating, seemingly quite happy and comfortable."

island; these people were hence called *asasem giz le*, the "original *asasem* people." But the practice gradually spread from group to group so that later all were able to join in this song. The drums were played by the old men. There were always spectators spending the time gossiping, eating or sleeping, who were ready to take the place of the singers when they were tired. In this way the *asasem wed* lasted through the night and ended just as dawn was breaking¹. Before the sun had risen, the relatives of the deceased prepared two heaps of young green coco-nuts, one for the men and one for the women. The sharing out of this food among the company was called *asasem pes*.

(iii) *The Keber of Terer and Aukem*².

About an hour after sunrise, having finished their meal, the people began to withdraw from the body and to take up a position about thirty metres distant but still in full view of it. The drummers (*warup le*) then beat their drums in quick time, as a signal of the approach of Terer, who was heard shaking rattles of *serpa* shells or *gda* nuts in the bush. To increase the excitement (for the people were said to be in great terror of him), Terer made several feints of coming out into the open. At length with yet more vigorous and rapid drum-beats, the drummers began the following song, turning their head from side to side to the time of the beating, as if they wondered from what part of the bush Terer was about to emerge.

Ai! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui!

Terer e bué. Markai e bué.

(Terer is coming. The Spirit is coming.)

Ai! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui!

Terer e bué. Markai e bué.

Ai! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui!

Terer e bué. Terer e pe ikas.

Ai! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui! Ui!

Markai e bué. Lamar e pe ikas.

In this way the people were worked up to a frenzy of excitement. Finally when Terer emerged from the bush, the drummers beat and sang still more loudly, and Terer advanced skipping, posturing and dancing towards the body.

Terer, who was always impersonated by a specially good dancer, wore around his head a wreath of the slightly scented leaves of the *ser* tree, and a head-dress of the mid-ribs of coco-nut leaves (or of croton leaves), which reached as far down as the nose, like a vizor concealing his face. A long feather of the white tern (*sirar lub*) was fixed at the centre of his brow and pointed backwards over his head; this was called *kaike*³.

¹ The only words of the *asasem wed* which we have been able to collect, are those sung upon the death of one of the *beizam boai*. They are so closely connected with the cult of Malu that we have included them in the section devoted thereto.

² For the myth of the origin of this *keber*, see Folk-tales, p. 31.

³ The Western word *kaikai* (Vol. v. p. 251).

In his mouth Terer held a piece of wood (*wagwag* or *lar irkep*¹) to which were affixed two rings of green coco-nut leaf, about three inches in diameter, fastened together². Over his chest he wore green coco-nut leaves (*su kupi*), shredded and crossed over each shoulder, back and front, after the style of the *wagogob* (cf. p. 157); they reached to the knee, but were fastened at the waist by a belt of the same leaves (*su wak*). He wore round his neck the same crescentic piece of pearl shell (*mai*) as is generally worn at dances: but he did not wear the circular shell-ornament (*dibidibi*). His arms were smeared with red paint and oil (*mair id*); he wore an arm-guard (*kadik*) and in his left hand held a bow and arrows; he carried a bunch of *gòà* nuts in his right hand and wore the usual plaited armlets (*su put*) and leglets (*makamak*) of the dancing men (*kab le*) (pl. XXVII. fig. 2).

When Terer, thus dancing along and rattling his *gòà* nuts, had reached the place where the body lay, he continued his dance (*kab eri*), leaning his head from side to side in a coquetting manner, bending now backwards now forwards, but always keeping time to the rhythm of the drum-beats. At length, making very rapid jumps from one foot to another and alighting at each jump on his toes (*kewir* or *pap kerem*), he ended his dance. Terer was now supposed to have taken possession of the spirit (*lamar*) and to be bearing it from the body to the island of Boigu. The women now showed intense excitement (for only the old men were said to know that in reality Terer was not a spirit); they cried and jumped off the ground with their arms high above their heads, as Terer was making his way westward along the beach. Screaming and wailing, all followed him. In her grief the mother or widow of the deceased cast herself repeatedly prostrate on the sand, handfuls of which she threw in her face and over her head with remarkable rapidity.

Terer was followed by Aukem, his mother, who was dressed in dried banana leaves (*gulab*), with long tufts of grass hanging from her head over her face and reaching to her shoulders³. She carried a lighted bundle of dry coco-nut fibre in her mouth from which she emitted clouds of smoke. She walked after her son with the unsteady, hobbling gait of an old woman, holding her two hands up to her mouth. Now and again Terer would turn back derisively towards Aukem, posturing and skipping as if intending to let his mother catch him, but he would dance away again, going still farther west. If the body lay on the north-west side of the island (e.g. in *Kòmet* or *Peibre*), Terer and Aukem would proceed thus as far as Umar. If the body lay on the south-east or east side of the island, they went as far as Werbadu. The people no longer followed them, but the drummers still continued to sing the same song. Upon reaching Umar or Werbadu, Terer, followed by Aukem, dived into the water, and while swimming westward from Umar to Gigred, they unloosed their grass and leaf coverings (their "spiritual" attire) which floated away, presumably to

¹ We cannot translate *wagwag*; *lar irkep* means "fish eyes," which are similar to those mentioned in footnote 2, p. 16.

² According to another account Terer held in his mouth a piece of wood which carried a diamond-shaped frame covered with white feathers. Probably there is here some confusion with the mask of the *keber le* (p. 141).

³ Aukem was thus dressed in a similar manner to *pager* (pl. V. fig. 1). She was always impersonated by a man.

Boigu¹. They then returned in ordinary mundane dress and quietly rejoined the assembly. Meanwhile the friends of the deceased had prepared a heap of green coconuts, which they now proceeded to distribute among the company.

(iv) *The Keber of the Zera Markai*².

As soon as the Terer *keber* was over, usually about ten o'clock in the morning, the *zera markai*, who were impersonated by twenty or thirty men, preceded by *pager*, entered upon the scene³. This *keber* was immediately followed by the removal of the corpse to the *paier* or wooden frame where it was left to dry.

The drummers assembled on the shore near to where the body lay; they began to sing and to beat their drums. After a while, a man emerged from the bush, about 400 metres away, covered from head to foot with dry grass and dead banana leaves; he was named *pager*. His head was bowed; his hands, painted red, were clasped together; his knuckles were held to his face, and his elbows were raised away from the sides of his body. Having advanced one leg, he would bring the other stiffly and rapidly up to it. Thus he came along the beach walking sideways and unsteadily, and keeping a zigzag course near to the bush. His body and head moved jerkily from side to side, his hands shook, and he wailed as he drew near⁴ (pl. V. fig. 1).

At length *pager* reached the drummers and the people, who thereupon presented him with a basket of yams⁵. He then retired sideways, leaning now and again heavily against a tree or knocking his head against it. Finally he disappeared into the bush.

Pager was at first closely followed by the *zera markai*⁶, but their slower step soon allowed the former to increase his distance between him and them. The bodies of the *zera markai* were blackened from the neck to the ankles, and the forehead

¹ Umar and Werbadu are the most westerly points of the two sides of the island. Boigu was the supposed home of the spirits of the dead.

² Mr Bruce says, "this is the *zera markai* ceremony of the Western Islanders." Allusion is made to the *zarar markai* of Mabuiag in Vol. v. p. 253; but no particulars were obtained.

³ The *keber* of the *zera markai* and those of the *Tur siriam*, *siwi*, *dumi ebe*, etc., were witnessed by one of us (C. S. M.), when they were performed in the course of celebrating Queen Victoria's birthday, May 24th, 1898. The accounts given in the following pages are mainly based upon that performance. Poi (27) impersonated *pager*. The parts of *zera markai* were played by Sambo (9 A), Dela (13), Gabi (12 c), Boa (12 b), Gadodo (14) and Kaige (6).

⁴ According to Mr Bruce, *pager* wore a mask of grass and dry banana leaves were wrapped all over his body, giving him a very torn and dilapidated appearance. He walked along the beach like an old decrepit man with a rolling gait. His hands were held up to his mouth with flexed fingers point to point, as if he were carrying something between his hands. The women and children screamed with fear when they saw him. This custom is still kept up. According to another account *pager* concealed his face with half a coco-nut shell, the cavity of which contained a piece of smouldering coco-nut husk. From time to time he blew smoke through the holes (eyes) of the shell.

⁵ Another version says that if any man met *pager*, he gave the latter a basket of yams and went home quickly.

⁶ In pl. V. fig. 1 the *zera markai* can be seen in the distance. *Pager* was said to be looking for food for the *zera markai*. "Zera markai all same piccaninny belong *pager*. *Pager* he old man, come along all same plenty tired. He share out food along *zera markai*." According to another informant, he acted as a comedian and relieved the tension and fear of the people caused by the other *keber* (cf. p. 144).

was also blackened. The lower part of the face and the feet were coloured a bright red. A red band was painted just below the knees. Above the ankles were worn palm leaf leglets about 5 cm. wide. From the shoulders over the front of the chest extended a triangular area of red paint, terminating at a point over the left hip and continued as a narrow circular band behind the neck. A crescent of pearl shell or a shell disk was worn from the neck. The head-dress was made of grass and carried long projecting ribs of coco-nut palm leaf. A tail of grass was worn behind the back, reaching below the level of the knees. Two bunches of the long ribs of the coco-nut leaf were held in the hands.

Thus attired, the *zera markai* emerged from the bush and advanced in single file with zigzag course towards the spectators, amid the beating of the drums and the singing of songs by the *warup le* (drummers). They walked on tip-toe with the feet turned well out (pl. XV. fig. 1). After bringing one leg (the left) forward, they paused and then planted the heel of the other foot (the right) to touch the toes of the former. Then after a pause they advanced the other limb (the right), lifting the leg high before the foot was placed on the ground as before. Their faces were turned towards the sea, and their wrists crossed behind the back. As they came within forty-five metres of the singers, they quickened their pace, and at about fifteen metres distance halted and formed up in two lines, facing the spectators (pl. XV. fig. 2). They now raised their arms above their heads, their hands carrying the long coco-nut leaf ribs, and then brought them down, one arm in front the other behind, assuming the familiar 'guard' position used in fencing. They then thrust to the right and left, as if they were about to spear something. They repeated these movements several times, throwing the weight of the body on to the advanced foot and raising slightly the other. Then they retired into the bush and again emerged, repeating the same steps and movements, but never approaching nearer than fifteen metres from the spectators.

Meanwhile the drummers had been singing the following words:

Wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa! wa!

<i>Goki</i>	<i>eza</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>goki</i>	<i>longa</i>	<i>gau</i>	<i>goki</i> ¹
<i>Nguki</i>	<i>ezer</i>	<i>ngau</i>	<i>nguki</i>	<i>launga</i>	<i>ngau</i>	<i>nguki</i>
Water	shell-vessel	my	water	not	my	water

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a!

<i>Gaige</i>	<i>gaige</i>	<i>karapuna</i>	<i>sewao</i>	<i>ragade</i>
? <i>Kaiki</i>		? <i>kaipun</i>	<i>sewa</i>	<i>ragadi</i>
? Along here		? to leeward	there to	rig a canoe

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a!

<i>Wa</i>	<i>banita</i>	<i>gasmuneba</i>	<i>jai</i>	<i>aria</i>	<i>pagana</i>	<i>koki</i>	<i>aria</i>	<i>pagana</i>
	<i>banita</i>	<i>gasamai</i>	<i>ziai</i>	<i>ari</i>	<i>pagai</i>	<i>kuki</i>		
	break	hold	south	rain	pelt	north-west		

Wa! a! a! a! a! a! a!

¹ The first line consists of the words as taken down, the second line is the presumed Western equivalent, of which the last line is the translation.

(v) *The Keber of the Pop le op*¹.

This *keber* belonged to Er and Zaub. If a man died in either of these places, the men would come from the other place to show their sorrow and wear the masks of the *pop le op* (pl. XVIII. figs. 3, 4). The old women cried but were not afraid of the masks.

Five men stood in a line, each wearing the mask, carrying a dugong harpoon, and decorated with leaves and feathers; on the left forearm was a gauntlet with ornaments, and a bunch of *watu* hung from the belt in front and one of croton, with a plume of cassowary feathers, behind. They walked slowly, alternately resting on one foot and lifting the other high to a strongly flexed position with a trembling movement. Now and again they looked back, resting the butt of the dugong harpoon on the ground. They hit the ground with the left heel and shifted their hands one in front of the other as if hauling a rope. Then they stood on their toes and moved their feet up and down, stretched their arms to their full extent, the fore-fingers of both hands being straight, as if harpooning a dugong. They now turned round slowly, the left heel being against the right big toe, and looked on the ground. They very gradually raised the fully extended right arm in a semicircle over the head—the index finger at first pointing downwards, then upwards, and finally downwards. Finally the arms were flexed and the head bent. This movement was said to indicate the rising and setting of the sun and to be symbolic of the life and death of man.

(vi) *Erection of the body on the paier*.

The mourners now took the body and placed it upon the *paier*, a wooden framework which stood on four wooden supports at a little distance from the house of the deceased. There was much wailing and crying during the ceremony in which only the immediate relations of the deceased took part. The faces and bodies of the young relations of the deceased were wet with the blood which dropped from their cut ears, for it was customary for boys and girls to have their ears cut on these occasions. (See pages 154–156.)

When the relatives cut their hair at the *paier*, it was all gathered in one heap on the ground, underneath the body, and left there.

After the body had been placed in position, the relatives took some large yams (*au sare lever*²) and, cutting them in pieces, placed them beside the body upon the *paier*. They also hung large bunches of bananas, *aumeraumer kaba*, upon bamboos around the *paier*. This food was called *paier lever*, and remained there until it decayed. It was looked on as nourishment for the ghost, *lamar*, who was supposed to eat it at night-time.

When a father died and left young children, his personal effects were collected and the widow divided them among the relatives, telling them to take care of them

¹ This ceremony is undoubtedly connected with the legend of Pop and Kod (p. 19). The account was obtained from Enoka (Er, 18 A). Pop was often pronounced Pôp. This mask, which is 38 cm. high, was presented to the British Museum in 1855 by the Lords of the Admiralty. It was identified by Enoka and Arei from a photograph as a *pop le op*.

² Perhaps *au sare* should be *usari*, a white yam, cf. Vol. III. p. 58.

for her children until the latter were grown up; she also made small presents of things as mementos of the deceased. This division of effects was called *teuane lu*. Some of the things were taken and broken up and finally burned at the *paier*.

When the corpse had been placed on the *paier*, two or more men, disguised in leaves in the usual way to represent Magur (see the Bomai-Malu Cult), approached the corpse at night and made a noise by hitting a piece of large bamboo with a stone or by hitting or rubbing together rough clam shells. They also defaecated in *ezer* (Melo) shells and scattered the ordure about. They went to the house where the women mourners were wailing and kicked towards and shook their hands at the house. They also made noises outside and banged on the walls and door of the house. Or they took *gòda* rattles and shook them slowly or scraped the walls of the house with them. But they never said a word. The women were much frightened and thought the *lamar*, ghost, of the deceased was visiting them. If a man or woman looked out of the house to see what was going on, the Magur *le* would immediately kill that person. The Magur *le* eventually went away, but no present of food was given to them.

(vii) *Preparation of the Body for Mummification.*

After two or three days, when the skin of the body had become loose, the *paier* was taken far out to the reef in a small canoe which was shaped like a plank, and manned by young friends, *ami le*, of the same sex as that of the deceased. The epidermis of the body was then rubbed off ("strong skin he stop"), and by means of a sharp shell, *us*, a small incision was made in the side of the abdomen (in the right side, at least in the case of women), whence the viscera were extracted. The perineum was incised in the males. The abdominal cavity was then filled up with pieces of the nipa palm, *meidu*¹. The viscera were thrown into the sea and the incision closed by means of fine fish line. An arrow was used to remove the brain, partly by way of the foramen magnum, and partly through a small slit which was made in the back of the neck. The 'strong skin' of the brain (the dura mater) was first cut and then the 'soft skin' was pulled out.

The body was brought back to the island and, supported by two of the *ami le*, was placed in a sitting position upon a stone. The other *ami le* painted the entire body with a mixture of red earth and sea water. The head, body and limbs were then lashed to the framework, *paier*, with string, *ked lager*, and a small stick was affixed to the lower jaw to keep it from drooping. The framework with its burden was fastened vertically to two posts set up in the rear of the house. It was protected from public view by a screen of coco-nut leaves. Four *ami le* gently rubbed the body down and made holes with the point of an arrow between the digits of the hands and feet, so that the decomposing juices might escape. A fire was always kept alight beneath the body. 'By 'n' by, meat swell up.'

The foregoing description was obtained by repeated inquiries from various informants; no original observations could be made as the custom had completely died out. So far as we are aware, the only detailed account of a mummy is that by Sir William Flower in the

¹ This palm drifts to the island from New Guinea.

Journ. Anth. Inst. viii. 1879, p. 389; the specimen (of which a photograph is given) was obtained in Erub in 1872. Prof. Flower's observations agree very closely with the foregoing account. The viscera were removed through an incision in the right flank, "and their place was occupied by four pieces of very soft wood, roughly split from the interior of some endogenous tree, each being from 12 to 15 inches long"; these were probably pieces of *meidu* stem. "Except the wound in the flank, there was no other opening or injury to the skin.... The brain cannot have been removed, for the walls of the orbits and nasal chambers were intact and it would not seem possible to extract it through the foramen magnum without greater external damage than the body had sustained"; nevertheless this had probably been done. "Both nostrils had been distended by some substance placed within them but now removed"; probably they were plugged, as in the case of the mouth.... The skin was everywhere hard and tough, as if it had been subjected to some tanning process, and was covered with a reddish pigment." All the hair had fallen out. The only ornament was an *ebeneop*. D'Albertis (*New Guinea*, i. p. 240) copied this photograph; he saw in Erub the mummy of a man who had been dead over a year standing in the middle of the widow's house, "attached to a kind of upright ladder of poles.... He wore his necklace, his wrists and legs were adorned with rings of shells, and on his forehead was a plaited crown of the finest grass, also brightly coloured. He was otherwise perfectly naked. They tint him from time to time with red chalk [ochre], and keep his skin soft by anointing it with coco-nut oil."

In the Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde there are mummies of two children, photographs of which (pl. XVIII. figs. 1, 2) I have obtained through the courtesy of Prof. F. von Luschan. The mummies were given to Dr Bastian by the Rev. James Chalmers in 1880, having been obtained at Uga (Stephen's Island). No. vi. 4089 is a female infant, perhaps only a few days old, about 48 cm. in length. The body is painted red all over, except the scalp and eyebrows which are blackened. A fair amount of hair still remains on the scalp and the upper eyelashes are long. Artificial eyes of nautilus nacre with black wax pupils are inserted in the orbits, *kirkub* (nose stick) in nose 37 mm. long. Lobe of ear with a double pendant of four red beads and red fringe; the viscera are replaced with ?*meidu* pith. The hips and legs are covered by a red figured calico petticoat, which is rolled up in the photograph. The *paier*, 48 × 13 cm., consists of 2 longitudinal and 22 cross pieces underneath and one other above by the feet; the lashings are irregular; the head is tied on by a broad red calico band across the forehead and a narrow one with three plaited bands round the neck; other fastenings are at the shoulders, wrists, and below the knees.

No. vi. 4090 is about 95 cm. long and is a female child between two and three years of age. The body was painted red, but the colour has almost entirely been rubbed off the arms and legs, except where the latter have been protected by the blue calico wrapping (which has been removed in the photograph); the scalp and eyebrows, and perhaps part of the forehead, are blackened; there is a red band across the forehead, the eyes are of nautilus nacre with wax pupils; the nasal septum is perforated; there are holes in the margin of the ears, in which are inserted short strings of red beads with red tassels at their ends; around the neck is a necklace of five strands of red, white and blue beads (2 red, 2 blue, 2 white, etc.); around the ankles a red fringe surmounted by a strip of yellow leaf. The incision for disembowelling is on the left side and has been sewn up. The *paier*, 92 × 32 cm., consists of 2 longitudinal and 7 transverse sticks, the body is lashed on round the forehead, at the shoulders, wrists, and below the knees. All the transverse bars are below the longitudinal ones except an extra one at the feet. In Prof. Flower's specimen all the transverse bars were above the two longitudinal, except an additional one beneath at each end.

In May, 1845, Jukes saw on an Erub woman's lap "the body of a child, a few months old, and which seemed to have been dead some time. It was stretched out on a framework of sticks, and smeared over with a thick red pigment, which dressing she was now renewing"; it had no appearance of decomposition (*Voyage of the Fly*, I. 1847, p. 246). Macgillivray (*Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, II. 1852, p. 48) also refers to a mummy of a child in Erub. Sketches of two Miriam mummies in the Brisbane Museum will be found on pl. 94 of Edge-Partington and Heape's *Ethnographical Album of the Pacific Islands*. Third Series. Cf. also pl. II. fig. 4 in Brockett's *Voyage to Torres Strait*, Sydney, 1836.

During these observances, the *ami le* wrapped banana leaves around their hair so that the odour of the corpse might not cling to it. They ate their food from the end of a stick. The relatives and mourners remained at the house of the deceased, *budge emri*, until the time arrived for the feast of

(viii) *The Bud lewer.*

This was held on about the tenth day after death, when the hands and feet of the body had become partially dry. Taking a bamboo knife, a relative removed the skin of the palms and soles together with the nails, and he cut out the tongue which he put into a bamboo clamp so that it might be kept straight while drying. After the feast these were presented to the widow who henceforth wore them (p. 157).

The feast was prepared by the mourners and friends, each of whom deposited his contribution of bananas, yams and germinating coco-nuts (*wai u*), as he entered the compound to join the assembled party. Part of the food was gathered into a heap around a bamboo pole inserted in the ground; the heap sometimes reached to a height of five or six metres. This was the *bud lewer*. It was cooked either by roasting in the fire, or by baking in an earth oven, *bud ame lewer*¹, but never by boiling in shells.

The rest of the food, together with other food provided by the relatives of the deceased, was distributed to the company for them to take home, this being considered as an equivalent return for their several contributions. Every woman visitor would bring a basket with her which she placed on the ground in a line with the rest. The men cut up bunches of bananas and yams and put them into these baskets. They were taken away by the women when they returned.

At length came the eating of the *bud lewer*, which was placed on the ground in the banana leaves wherein it had been cooked. The near relatives did not eat with the friends of the deceased, but waited until the latter had finished, when they received the order, it was scarcely an invitation, "*Wa tabakeauare eruare*, You come and eat." The widow sat apart from the rest, crying and wailing.

It was on this occasion that the relatives and friends attired themselves in mourning dress (p. 156), and the *koima* marks were cut (p. 154). Finally the visitors returned to their homes, leaving behind only the widow and the brothers or other very near relatives of the deceased, and the *ami le* who attended to the preparation of the body.

¹ The *ame* was a shallow pit containing hot stones, into which the food was cast wrapped in banana leaves, and then covered over with earth.

(ix) *The Keber of Eud lera Roairoai (dead man's likeness).*

It was difficult to ascertain the exact time after death when this took place. As a rule probably from four to six months were allowed to elapse, and the mummification of the body had far advanced. But occasionally a much earlier date seemed to have been fixed; it was largely dependent upon the state of the fruit-crops, or, like other feasts, upon certain contingencies.

When the time of the ceremony had been arranged, all the friends received notice that they were to meet just before sundown at the house of the deceased. It was then decided how many of the following *keber* should be solemnised and how many relatives of the deceased should be represented in this particular *keber eud lera roairoai*. The men who were selected to act as the ghosts of the dead were called the *keber le*; their number rarely exceeded four. About a dozen men were told off to call forth these ghosts; they were known as the *mer aseret le* (= speech-hearing people), and their function was to inform the people of the presence of the ghosts and to be their messengers. Thereupon the *keber le* attired themselves. Their costume consisted only of a head-dress of leaves and the *wagogob* (shoulder-band) of green coco-nut leaves. The *mer aseret le* were dressed in a girdle of leaves around the waist and a wreath of the same on the head.

About eight o'clock in the evening, the drummers who, as usual, were all old men, assembled close by the beach opposite to the body of the deceased. Between them and the body the *mer aseret le* aligned themselves. The people were crowded together on the beach. No women were allowed to be near the mummy; their position was at some distance to one side of it and close to the beach. The drummers sang the *keber* songs, after which one of the *keber le* went into the bush and blew his shrill bamboo whistle, *neabgir* or *burar*. This was a sign of the near approach of a ghost, and at once caused the greatest excitement, especially among the women.

Then the *mer aseret le*, standing in line and holding each other's hands, advanced by side steps towards the body with strange movements, which were supposed to be characteristic of ghosts, making a hollow sound with their feet. One of the *keber le* who stood behind the framework was thus addressed by the nearest *mer aseret le*: "Whose ghost is there?" An answer was returned in a strident voice, "—*ra lamar pedali*, —'s ghost is here." Thereupon the *mer aseret le* returned by side steps towards the drummers as they came, treading heavily on the ground, so as to produce the same hollow sound as before, which the crowd heard from the distance and attributed to the movements of ghosts. The *mer aseret le* were but imperfectly visible, beneath the shade. Their general appearance was said to be very uncanny in the dim light of night-time. He who was nearest to the drummers now called out, "*Markai —a maluba taieneka sana zabusaka*!" And directly they heard the name — spoken, the women

¹ The following translation has been obtained by Mr Bruce from the Murray Islanders:

Markai —a maluba taieneka sana zabusaka.
Spirit of — away at sea ? loved little

The people are very uncertain, however, as to the correctness of this rendering. They say "these are only

jumped up holding their hands above their heads. They hurled themselves upon the sand, handfuls of which they threw over their faces and heads, crying out all the time in a sorrowful way. At the same time the drummers beat their drums quickly and sang loudly to a weird air, until at length both the music and the wailing and crying gradually ceased. The *keber* song was then recommenced and another spirit was addressed as before by the *mer aseret le*. The same ceremonies were repeated until they had called over the names of all the ghosts (*eud lera nei abger*) who would appear on the following day. The first name called was invariably that of the individual whose body was upon the framework. When a woman's name was called, a man represented her ghost.

This part of the ceremony being ended, one of the *mer aseret le* (the *burar le*¹) blew his whistle and called out to the people that all the *keber* would appear on the following day². Thereupon the *keber le*, the *mer aseret le* and the *warup le* (drummers) approached the body and sat down upon mats, each mat being allocated to one of the ghosts who had been called. These men remained there until nearly dawn, singing the *keber wed* with drum accompaniment. All the others went to their home, for they were forbidden to go near the body.

The next morning the men met beside the body in order to inspect those who would later represent the various ghosts, and to observe whether they could properly imitate the peculiarities of gait and figure which had characterised the individuals when alive. Then the old men secretly repaired to their gardens and collected food for the ghosts (the *keber lewer*). It was placed on the mats beside the body, each mat being allotted to a ghost, the mat belonging to the ghost of the body being nearest to the body. The preparation of this food was called *lewer esegemer* or "food spread out." No woman or child might see it under pain of death.

About noon the drummers took up their position near the beach, facing the crowd of spectators who had been awaiting them. After the *keber wed* had been sung for a little while, one of the *keber le* came out from the bush on to the beach and began to dance at a distance of about a hundred metres from the people. The singing and drum-beating continued as the dancer came gradually nearer.

If it were a woman, *kosker keber*, who was being impersonated, the *keber le* danced in imitation of her. "His" entire body was painted red. "He" wore a petticoat of (?croton) leaves, plaited armlets, *put*, and the necklace of dogs' teeth, *sesereg*. A mask of leaves covered "his" head, surmounted by a head-dress of cassowary feathers into which feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon were inserted. In "his" hands he carried brooms of long pieces of young coco-nut palm leaf.

words: we don't know, but our fathers knew." The language is that of the Western islands of the Torres Straits, whence the whole ceremony was derived. The following would be the Western version: *Markai a malupa*, to the sea, *taianekai*, will have to go, *sena*, that, *za*, thing, *pusakar*, swollen.

¹ The *burar le* did not allow himself to be seen except when he first blew his whistle; he was then seen by the *mer aseret le* to glide behind the *paier*. When he spoke behind the screen of the *paier* it was always in as weird a tone as he could assume.

² The time was always arranged so that there was low water (spring tides) and a large expanse of beach, so that the crowd might assemble at some little distance from the dancing of the *keber le*, and the real personality of the latter remain strictly unknown.

If the ghost belonged to a man, *kimier keber*, the *keber le* wore the usual dancing dress, having in addition a head-dress made of leaves and surmounted by feathers of the cassowary and pigeon, also a diamond-shaped ornament of bamboo held by his teeth so that his features were completely hidden. His left hand held a bow, his right an arrow¹. He danced and threw himself into attitudes employed in the usual dances, sometimes crouching, at others "marking time" or jumping up from one foot to the other, and alighting on his toes, *kewir* or *pap kerem*.

As the *keber le* came nearer, he danced at a furious speed, lifting his feet with rapid springs from the sand so that it was scattered about him. The women wailed, and amid her tears the widow would exclaim, "That's my man," or a mother, "There's my boy," as the gestures and movements of the *keber le* recalled those which had been characteristic of the deceased. The drummers suddenly cried out, "Ah! Ah! Ai! Ai!" and the women fell to the ground, the *keber le* making his escape into the bush. Thereupon other *keber le*, each impersonating a different ghost, successively made their appearance, two of them occasionally, however, advancing together. The songs and the beating of the drums continued until all the *keber le* had gone through their performances.

Mr Bruce says that the delusion that the *keber le* is the ghost of a dead person is aided by the ordinary dancing costume and the leafy head-dress and diamond-shaped bamboo object which hide the face—the make-up is splendid, the mimicry is excellent, and should the *keber le* somewhat resemble the figure of the man he is impersonating, the delusion is almost perfect, more especially as it is assisted by the implicit belief of the women and children that it really is the ghost of their deceased relative.

When the first *keber le* had finished his dance, he and the drummers advanced towards the framework where he repeated the dance. But the people were not allowed to see this. They remained behind upon the beach and wailed, for the ghost was supposed to be now leaving for its final resting-place at Boigu, an island to the north-west, near New Guinea². When the dance before the dead body had ended, the nearest male relative removed the head-dress *keber op* from the *keber le* and placed it on the food which had been set apart for the ghost. When the time came for bringing the body into the house, this head-dress was taken and kept along with it. The head-dresses of the other *keber le* were similarly placed by near relatives upon the heaps of food which were respectively destined for the ghosts of impersonated individuals. Afterwards this food was shared among the singers and drummers, the *keber le* obtaining a small portion as a present.

(x) *The Keber of the Baur Siriam.*

This ceremony, which belonged to the Kòmet and Meaurem *le*, followed immediately upon the preceding ceremony. The *baur* were large harpoons, *wap*, used in killing dugong and turtle. Those employed in this ceremony were carved at each end with men's faces

¹ According to another account, the arms and legs of the *kimier keber le* were painted red, and the lower part of the trunk was hidden by a coco-nut leaf petticoat, the upper by frayed-out palm-leaves disposed diagonally. He wore the gauntlet and a crescentic pearl-shell ornament on the breast. *Internat. Arch. f. Ethnogr.* 1891, pl. XIV. fig. 3.

² Cf. the *Keber* of Terer and Aukem (pp. 128 and 132).

representing the people who had died¹. Ropes (*lager*) were fastened to the ends of the *wap*, one of them being fastened high up to a tall *ome* tree. The *wap* was held horizontally by several men who danced beside one another, each of whom helped in supporting it with one of his hands. In their dance they advanced and retired together and moved as if they were walking up the rope to the tree.

There seems to have been an initiation ceremony connected with this *keber*. The novices were placed in front of the ropes, the assistants (*tami le*) behind.

(xi) *The Wezwez Keber*.

This *keber* was only performed for a male member of the *Kòmet le*. The *keber le* went at dawn into the bush and prepared themselves, by completely covering their heads and bodies with variegated croton leaves (*wez*). Small apertures were left for the eyes. When all was ready the widow received notice to go to the place where the ceremony was to be carried out. She was accompanied by all her female relatives. At a signal from the drummers, these women lay down in a line upon their backs. Then the *keber le* emerged from the bush, dancing to the music. The last of them represented the man in whose honour the *keber* was given. The others represented men who had died less recently, the first dancer representing the man who had been longest dead, the rest following in due order.

The *keber le*, one following the other, first danced round the women and later danced astride the women, keeping their feet between them. The widow of the deceased lay at the more distant end of the line. Her excitement was naturally intense when the last of the *keber le*, whom she imagined to be the ghost of her lost husband, came dancing astride of her, closely imitating his gait and figure. She sprang from the ground to catch him, but he eluded her grasp and skipped off to the bush. The women began to wail and cried out for the return of the deceased².

We have no information of the *galbol*, *maid*, or *Nagir siriam keber* of the *Zagareb le*.

(xii) *The Keber of the Tur Siriam*.

This *keber* belonged to the *Samsep le* and was performed at *Tur* or at *Areb*³. The *Tur siriam le* were attired in a black petticoat (*tolop*) and in grass down to the middle of the thigh. They wore leglets of leaves around their knees and ankles. In each hand, which was held beside the thigh, they carried a long wand of black wood reaching about half a metre above the level of the head. Their face was hidden by a

¹ They were originally brought from *Mabuiag* and were kept in a sacred hut at *Korog*. They were taken to England by the Rev. S. MacFarlane, since when they have been lost sight of. The islanders still refer with pride to the excellence of these lost carvings.

² Mr Bruce adds, "The *keber le* are so cleverly made up that it is really impossible to tell who is who. You see nothing of the face, but the whites of the eyes flashing; as for the body recognition is impossible, as they are so covered over with the *wez*, but they always try to get a man to impersonate the deceased who as nearly as possible resembled him in gait and manner of dancing."

³ We were informed that this *keber* took place about a fortnight after death. *Tur* and *Areb* are quite near one another. One informant gave *Tur*, the other *Areb* as the place where the *Tur siriam keber* was performed. *Areb* may have been given because of its greater importance as a place. However, another *siriam keber* (p. 143) was obtained, belonging to *Areb* and *Warwe*. There is good reason to suspect confusion here. The *Tur siriam keber* was evidently the funeral ceremony of the *Meket siriam le*.

wooden mask, which consisted of a narrow transverse bar, about half a metre long and 10 cm. broad, provided with lateral spines; it was painted white and was held in the teeth by a piece of wood attached to it. A white oval ornament, about 45 cm. wide, was worn around the neck¹.

According to another account, this mask was called *těrei* or *malo těrei*, and consisted of a piece of soft wood (*bet*) of the dimensions given above, along the edge of which were inserted *sir lub*, feathers of the *sir* (the white reef-heron, *Demiegretta sacra*). According to the same account, a tall plume of *sir* feathers was inserted at the middle of the *bet* (pl. XXVII. figs. 3-5).

(xiii) *The Siriam Keber of Areb and Warwe.*

The Samsep *le* of the villages of Areb and Warwe appear to have had a common *siriam keber*, which was thus described to us. Several *keber le*, painted red, advanced in line, and were followed by numerous *siriam keber le* who were painted black. They advanced in a straight line for a short distance, singing, "Weii, Weii, Weii," and beating their drums (*warup*) very quickly. They next skipped in zigzag fashion from side to side. Then they stood and beat the drums and jumped into the air, crying, "Weii, Weii, Weii." Finally they all went home, took off their dresses, and held a feast.

(xiv) *The Keber of Dogai.*

At the close of the *siriam keber*, a man wearing an enormous mask approached from the bush towards the drummers. This was Dogai². He did not come down to the beach. Dogai was always impersonated by a very tall man, but his height was much dwarfed by the hugeness of the mask. This mask was made of the decayed bark of the coco-nut palm, or, according to another account, of the husk, *mes*, of the coco-nut, and was hence very light in weight. Mr Bruce writes that the face recalled "one of the large masks one sees at pantomimes, a big, serious, stupid, comical face." The body of the man was covered with banana leaves. Long black cassowary feathers fell from the head on to the shoulders. He danced with his arms akimbo, and carried a long wand in his hand.

Upon the appearance of Dogai the drummers sang:

Dogai eros ia gur tamana sabisabi
 Dogai high tide sea come
waiemana a taiemana ses-eba ses-eba
 retire and advance
palemen kwik bage bage
 separate head cheek cheek³.

¹ This was the mask and dress used in the performance of the Tur *siriam keber* by Babelu (Mei, 13 A) and Mamai (Warwe, 16), as witnessed by one of us (C. S. M.) during our stay in 1899 at the dance festival in honour of Queen Victoria's birthday (cf. footnote, p. 133 n. 3). There should have been four men instead of two. They walked abreast approaching the spectators in zigzag direction, the extent of the zigzag diminishing as they came nearer. Their step consisted in bringing one foot up to the other before the latter was again advanced. At times they leaped into the air, separating their legs while they were off the ground. There was no singing. The performers repeatedly exclaimed, "Wo, wo, wo."

² We have no information whether the Dogai episode was common to the whole island or limited to a district; presumably it was associated with the *Dogaira wetpur* (see Magic). The mask worn at these feasts also had "big cheeks" (pl. XXII. fig. 7). See also the account of Dogai in the section on Religion.

³ This reduplication implies that the cheeks were a prominent feature and is equivalent to saying "big cheeks" or "fat face."

At the words *waiemana a taiemana*, Dogai advanced and retired with rolling gait. The singers appeared to be scolding or dictating to him. Throughout his performance Dogai caused great amusement.

The comic element which Dogai appeared to lend to the scene, was also present in certain other dances which took place between the performance of the various *keber* ceremonies already described. In these dances, the performers were always dressed to represent an animal, bird or fish. They advanced from the west towards the people, while those who were enacting the *keber* ceremonies always appeared from the east, moving in the same direction as the spirit is supposed to fly—westwards¹.

(xv) *The Seber Keber of Er.*

The *keber le* emerged from the bush on to the sand-beach of Er, dressed in vertically arranged leaves of the stout *akur* grass which is usually employed for thatching. This made a kind of frame round the men, producing a very curious effect. The men held in their mouths a horizontal bar of light wood, covered with white feathers, and they carried long wands in their hands.

They started their dance about four hundred yards from the drummers who were grouped upon the beach. They came forward with short trotting steps, and when the drums gave certain beats they sprang into the air, landing on the sand with their legs wide apart. This *keber* was confined to the *Geaurem le*.

We have no information of the *Paremar siriam* of the *Mergarem le*.

(xvi) *The Keber of the Siwi le.*

Our knowledge of this *keber* is solely derived from the dance performed during the festivities which were held in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday during our visit. A man, wearing the ordinary dancing dress supplemented by a long tail of grass, advanced zigzag along the shore. Now and again he leaped into the air, and as he approached the sea, he threw into it a piece of coco-nut which he drew out again by means of an attached string. We understand that the *siwi le* were Eger men and that the *siwi keber* was performed upon the death of any of them.

(xvii) *The Keber of the Dumī ebe le.*

Here again our sole acquaintance with this *keber* is based on representations given in celebration of Queen Victoria's birthday, 1898.

Two men advanced sideways towards the drummers on the beach. They started facing one another. But as they approached, one moved obliquely towards the sea, the other obliquely towards the bush, so that after a time they changed places and stood back to back. They turned about and began as before, crossing and thus once more facing one another. The *dumī ebe le* are the people of the district of Kameri on Dauar.

¹ It is probable that these were originally intended to represent spirits returning from Boigu in the form of their animal totem. The Murray Islanders believe that birds are often incarnated by the spirits of the dead.

(xviii) *Funeral Ceremonies of the Malu Zogo le and Keparem le.*

Upon the death of one of the three *zogo le* or *keparem le* it appears that the body was not taken out to sea (as described on p. 136) but was removed on the bier, or *paier*, to one of the cleared spaces, *deber uteb*¹, in the "bush." Here it rested until decomposition had so far advanced that the head could be removed from the body. It must be remembered, however, that these officials of the Bomai-Malu ceremonies would usually have been old men and that it was not the custom to mummify the bodies of the aged (p. 127).

The following were the *deber uteb* or cleared spaces in the bush, and the villages and groups to which they severally belonged: **Miar**, Las = Piaderem *le*²; **Zer**, Areb and Warwe = Samsep *le*; **Bak**, Mergar and Terker = Mergarem *le*; these belonged to the *Beizam boai*. The following belonged to the *Zagareb le*: **Kabur**, Ulag = Zagareb *le*; **Kisar**, Babud = Meaurem *le*; **Namsiki**, Eger and Er = Geaurem *le*; **Maur**, Werbadu = Mergarem *le* (cf. Map, p. 170).

On the death of one of the three *zogo le*, or *keparem le*, the sides of the head and the body of the deceased were painted with a mixture of red earth and oil and were covered with the white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon. A small band of cassowary feathers (*wer sam*) was fixed about the brow, the arm guard (*kadik*) carrying croton leaves was placed at the elbow, and otherwise the same accoutrements were worn as in the performance of the Malu ceremony at Las. Beside a *keparem le* was laid his staff.

The *Zagareb le* and *Beizam boai* assembled in the cleared space around the dead body. The *Zagareb le* brought the two sacred drums, and all seated themselves on the ground with their legs crossed, save one who stood at the head of the corpse. The *Zagareb le* formed a circle surrounding the corpse; outside them the *Beizam boai* formed a second circle, and beyond these and at a greater distance off the women and young people formed a third circle; the latter kept very quiet and did not talk. The ceremonial star-shaped stone-headed clubs, which were decorated with white feathers, were inserted, head uppermost, into the ground beside the body (pl. XXVIII. fig. 1).

The songs which were thereupon sung were of a sacred character and referred to the Malu cult. Women and children might only hear them at a distance. Certain sacred words, *zogo mer*, were whispered at the end of every song³. Those who had not drums accompanied the music by swaying their arms in the following manner. The two hands were clasped together and raised to the level of the shoulder. They were brought down at each drum-beat and were then raised to the level of the opposite shoulder, ready for a similar movement at the next drum-beat. The head and the trunk were always inclined towards the side opposite to that to which the arms were being raised. Like the drum-beats these various movements were irregular and jerky at the beginning

¹ We have a note to the effect that the *au nei* of these cleared spaces in the bush is *deber uteb* (? "good place"), while *paretkak uteb*, "uncleared space," is the *kebi nei*.

² Arei (Zaub 2) and Pasi (Giar pit 27) would thus both be taken to Miar.

³ The words and the airs of these funeral songs are given on p. 151.

of the songs; but when the words *weii*, or *emaver*, were reached they at once became uniform and rhythmical.

The following description of the funeral of Iu (27), one of the *zogo le*, was given by his son Pasi.

When Iu died, a fire-signal was made on Dauar where he lived and his *tami le* (or *keparem le*) on Mer recognised the signal. A number of Miriam men went to Gelam pit to meet the corpse which was being brought across. The Miriam men took their bows and arrows, and this frightened the Dauar men. Every one cried as they put the body on the *paier* at Werbadu. After being there for two days, it was taken into the bush at Miar (one of the *deber uteb*) where Gadodo (14) had a house. As Iu was one of the *zogo le*, he was painted red and decorated all over with white pigeon's feathers, a *kadik* (pl. XVII. fig. 2) was placed on his left arm and he was in all respects dressed as a *zogo le*. This was done at night-time and by day-break all was finished. Then they went to Gazir (the sacred home of the Malu rites) and they took Iu's body and the *paier* on which it lay, into the bush. A cousin of Iu's was told to stay beside it for ten days. A brother and a cousin of the deceased had taken off the epidermis and had afterwards decked the corpse with paint and feathers. Eske, the father of Gadodo, kept the body in the bush until the head fell off. Then he made the skull into a *lamar marik* (see Divination) and put feathers on the face because Iu belonged to Malu. Indeed all *Beizam boai* had this done to their skulls. It was Eske and not the widow who kept the head, because Iu belonged to Malu.

(xix) *Marking with Keg Warup.*

About noon on the day after the *eud lera roairoai*, this ceremony took place. The relatives of the deceased took no part in it. The *keg warup le* were all *nog le* (unrelated people from outside). They wore the usual dancing dress. But in addition they wore (i) the shoulder-bands of shredded coco-nut leaf called *wagogob* (cf. p. 157), (ii) a narrow petticoat, *nesur*, of the same material, (iii) a head-dress of leaves bound round the brow with a young coco-nut leaf, and (iv) a bunch of croton leaves inserted in the petticoat behind. In their right hand they held an arrow but no bow; in their left a bunch of leaves. Some carried in both hands bunches of leaves or merely one long sprig of the wild ginger plant; but they made a pretence of having the arrow throughout the ceremony. The male spectators grouped themselves near the dead body, and the women were placed where they could only hear but not see what was going on. The drummers, seated on a mat opposite the body, began beating their drums in slow time, only occasionally breaking into a quick rhythm. After about five minutes they started their song.

Thereupon one of the *keg warup le*, poured into a broken coco-nut shell a mixture of charred coco-nut husk (*keg*) and water. Followed by the other *keg warup le*, he hurried towards the scattered groups of women and ran in and out among them. He then began to mark them on the shoulder with the mixture from his coco-nut shell. This mark was called *keg warup*, and was applied only to those women who were not related to the deceased (cf. p. 127). Always afraid of anything connected with the *keber*

ceremonies, the women cried out; they appeared to resent being marked. Then the *keg warup le* returned to where the men were sitting and painted them similarly. The men formed a more compact group than the women, so that there was here less danger of the relatives of the deceased being painted in mistake. The *keg warup le* always made a pretence (*bes atamelam*) of marking the relatives.

When the marking was over, the *keg warup le* formed in a ring round the drummers and danced the *kab eri*. They finished in the quick time of the *kewir*, rapidly lifting their feet, springing into the air, and alighting on their toes. Finally at a signal from the drummers, who began to beat their drums lightly, the leader of the *keg warup le* rushed down to the beach and plunged his arrow (*kep*) into the sand. He was followed by the other *keg warup le* who threw their arrows similarly. All of them then rushed at their utmost speed along the sand, yelling at the top of their voices. They raced back again for their arrows, returned to the drummers and encircling them started their dance once more. The dance was fixed at a time when the tide was far out, so that there was an ample stretch of sand for them to run upon. The leader was always a specially good runner, and the men vied with each other in appearing to their best advantage before the public, who were moved to great excitement. The dancing and running were continued until stopped through sheer exhaustion on the part of the performers.

During the dance, the women had been preparing a meal. One of the male relatives of the deceased now went to the women and informed them that the performers were ready for it. The drummers' food consisted of coco-nuts, old (*gebgeb u*) and young (*pez u*), which must be whole and unhusked, and of roasted bananas which were presented in a basket. The male mourners first served the drummers, or *warup le*, also sometimes called *weserweser le* (greedy men). The nuts were laid before them on their mat and the basket of bananas was placed on top of them. Then the mourners brought food to the *keg warup le*, whose meal was called *gegur lewer*. It consisted of the kernels and pieces of old coco-nuts and whole roasted bananas, which were strung together alternately on the midrib of a coco-nut leaf; the alternate white kernels and yellow bananas had a very appetising appearance¹. The strings of food, thus prepared by the women, were suspended by the male mourners from the centre of a bow and arrow, and strings of dogs' teeth were fastened about them.

After they had eaten the food, the *keg warup le* took the bow, arrow and dogs' teeth necklaces, and put them beside the fence of the compound where the owner would easily see them. Apparently the *keg warup le* were entitled to consider these articles as a present given them along with the food, but instead of availing themselves of this right they left them behind, "as it were by accident."

The mourners were supposed to be too sad to eat with the *nog le* (that is, those who were not mourners); and therefore they ate apart.

When the meal was over the relatives and friends returned to their homes.

¹ According to one account the women took a coco-nut leaf and, stripping off some of the pinnules, stuck the food on to the adhering pinnules; these small pieces of food were called *zogo lewer*, or "sacred food."

(xx) *Removal of the Body to the House.*

This took place a few days later, the procedure being known as *paier atkoper*. The body was affixed to a new framework (*paier*) of bamboo and was carried within the hut. In former days the huts had a bee-hive shape and the *paier* was fastened to the centre post (*seseri*) which supported the roof. The body thus stood erect within the house. Its dried skin had been painted red. Pieces of pearl-shell of the nautilus had been cemented into the orbits with beeswax, two round spots of black beeswax imitating the pupils. The perforated margin of the ears (*leb*) were decked with shreds of the sago-palm leaf (*bisi wam*) or with grey seeds (*kus*, Job's tears). A nautilus pearl-shell frontlet (*idaid matalager*) was placed on the head, a crescentic pearl-shell ornament (*mai*) on the chest, the genitals were covered with the *ebeneaup*, and leglets (*makamak*) were put about the legs. Oil would possibly still be dripping from the joints of the limbs, to catch which large shells (*miskor*) were placed beneath the body.

In the darkness of the old-fashioned huts the body looked like a living person. In course of time it became almost completely mummified (*le aud*) and as light as if it were made of paper. Swinging to and fro with every breath of wind, it turned its gleaming eyes at each movement of the head.

If the skull were the only remaining part of the deceased (cf. p. 127) it was decorated in the above fashion and suspended from the central post, or kept wrapped up in a *ka mat* imported from New Guinea (fig. 11, p. 36). We have a note that sometimes the skin was allowed to dry on the heads of young men¹, but only old men had the features modelled in wax (pl. XXVIII.).

The house was now surrounded by posts and ropes so as to keep the ghost (*lamar*) of the deceased from finding his way in. The ghosts of the dead were thought only to appear at night, and, being in the dark, they would knock themselves against the posts and get entangled in the ropes, until at last giving up the attempt they would cease to harass the widow or nearest relative, who had been watching the body for fear that the head or some other part might be stolen². The bamboo posts were placed irregularly, about a metre and a half apart, around the hut. Each was about 130 cm. high above the ground and into its upper end was inserted a shank of wood about 30 cm. long bearing a terminal knob (*atkoper kep*) which was generally carved. Croton leaves were also affixed to the upper end of each bamboo post. The posts were ornamented with red paint, and one trumpet shell (*maber*) was placed on each knob and another on the ground at the foot of each post. These decorations were called *paier atkoperra taier*. The tangles of ropes uniting the posts were made of the coco-nut husk (*ked*). A feast was held when the ceremony of *paier atkoper* had been completed.

¹ When Macgillivray visited Erub "several human skulls were brought down for sale—some had the skin quite perfect, the nose artificially restored in clay, mixed with a resinous substance, and the orbits occupied by a diamond-shaped piece of mother of pearl, with a black central mark" (*Voyage of the Rattlesnake*, II. 48). Macgillivray also states (p. 31) that the headless body was interred in a shallow grave with wooden posts at the corners, which were painted red and decorated with shells, etc.

² Such thefts were of common occurrence and are described on p. 149.

(xxi) *Final Disposal of the Body.*

In course of time the body fell to pieces. A feast was then given only if the deceased had been a male, and the head was removed and a wax model of it made and given to the "brother" of the deceased. It was shown first to the male relatives who wept and lamented over it, and then to the women who also cried. Yams and other food were heaped up and all ate, the men who had made the waxen likeness receiving a large share of the food. The body of the deceased was then removed to the beach where it was placed on a platform raised upon the trunks of four coco-nut trees. This was its final resting-place.

The head was in certain cases used for purposes of divination.

(xxii) *Theft of the Keber.*

After the *paier* had been taken inside the house, attempts were made, usually if not invariably by enemies of the deceased, to get possession of some part of the corpse. The proper *keber* to steal was the desiccated body or—if the body had not been mummified (cf. p. 127)—the skull, and considerable strategy was often necessary to capture it. But anything might serve as a *keber*, a pebble or a piece of wood from the grave; it might even be sufficient to cut a chip from a piece of wood marking the place of burial, or break off a neighbouring twig or leaf.

A common method of theft was for the friends of the raiders to pay an evening call at the house. While the hosts were thus engaged in conversation, two thieves decamped with the body or skull, throwing a bundle of leaves among the relatives of the deceased as they departed. No noise or disturbance ever occurred when the *keber* was stolen, as the relatives knew that they would soon hear who had taken it away. But they were nevertheless afraid of what might happen to the spirit of the deceased in consequence. Moreover they regarded the theft as an insult to themselves. Often the stealing of the *keber* arose from a quarrel between two men, one of whom, perhaps, had called the other *nole lu kak le* (a "nothing man"). Thereupon the friends of the man thus insulted arranged to steal the *keber* of a dead relative of the offender; this relative might have died recently or long before.

After an interval which depended largely on the condition of the crops, certain days were appointed for an interchange of presents of food. First of all, the group of people to which the stealers of the *keber* belonged brought bunches of bananas to the relatives and friends of the deceased. This food was called *nelewer* (probably = *nei lewer*, "name food"). Each of the visitors wore a leaf as the symbol of their mission and presented the food on the leaf to the opposite party. The day was spent in bringing in and arranging the food. Towards evening the head man of the relatives of the deceased took one of the bananas for himself and shared the rest among the other relatives. The leaves were kept by the recipients of the food.

Next, in the course of a few days the latter started to prepare food as a present in return. They strung bananas, two by two, on short pieces of bamboo, and gave these

sticks of food, called *merpa*, to the thieving party on their visit to the village of the deceased. The return present was made as nearly as possible of the same size as the original gift. A leaf was tied on to indicate for whom the food was intended.

The exchange of presents thus begun might continue for weeks, bows and arrows and other objects being given as well as food. It usually ended with high words, but eventually the stolen *keber* was returned. Now and again, owing to scarcity of food, the distribution of *merpa* did not take place until a year or two after the theft. Meanwhile the friends of the deceased remained in a state of great suspense, as they were extremely anxious to have the stolen *keber* restored as soon as possible.

(xxiii) *Funeral Songs.*

Twelve songs connected with the funeral ceremonies are here published in the usual notation. By the use of phonographic records a careful analysis of the tunes has been made, in order to express in vibration-numbers the actual pitch of the sounds sung. These and other results of more detailed study are reserved, however, for a special section on the music of the Torres Straits islanders in Volume IV. The versions here presented will suffice to convey to the European ear a fairly correct idea of the character of the funeral songs.

Only three signs are introduced which are likely to be unfamiliar to readers of modern music. Asterisks denote the drum-beats. The word "slur" occurring over two notes signifies *glissando* or *portamento*, i.e. a very gradual and continuous change of pitch in passing from one tone to the other, such as is obtainable by sliding the finger along the string of a violin. The sign \vee indicates a breath pause.

The first four songs belonged to the Malu ceremonies and were of an extremely sacred character. They were sung upon the death of the *zogo le* and *keparem le* (cf. pp. 145, 146). The notation used in the first two songs is intended to represent a descent by a series of (approximately) whole-tone intervals. The fourth song was uttered in a very low voice, and was followed by yet more highly sacred words which were quickly whispered so that no one might hear them save those who had been initiated into the Malu mysteries. The meaning of the words, used in these four and in other songs connected with the Malu ceremonies, will be discussed in a later section of the present volume, devoted to the Cult of Malu.

The remaining eight songs belonged to the *keber* ceremonies. Songs VI., VII., X. appear to have been connected with the *zera markai*. Songs VIII. and IX. with the Meket *siriam*, a minor initiation ceremony. Song XI. is said to have belonged to the people of Sebeg. Song XII. to the people of Areb. The words of several of the songs have not been obtained. Those which we are able to publish are in a debased form of the language of the western islands of the Torres Straits. Women or children might hear them. Their meaning is extremely obscure: they are referred to in Volume IV.

I.

$\text{♩} = 80$

Wau aka o ade-et maluet e padet a-au emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer
Yea why O holy one Malu at the creek sways sways sways sways sways

emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer emarer.
sways sways sways sways sways sways sways sways sways.

II.

$\text{♩} = 80$

Wau o we-lu-ba o lewerlewer a a-o meriba tamer-a o gu-la-bor-a tamer-a
Yea O pigeon's feather, O food our Malu's club made of banana leaves Malu's club

$\text{♩} = 69$

a-o weii weii weii weii weii weii weii weii weii weii weii weii.
alas alas alas alas alas alas alas alas alas alas alas alas.

III.

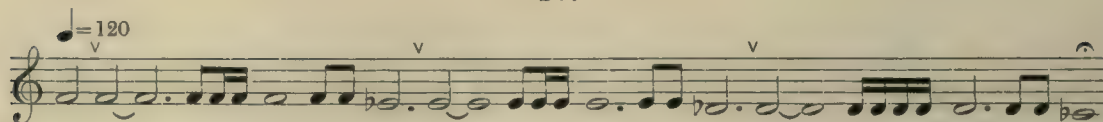
$\text{♩} = 108$

U - - - wau Izib eiriam o Izib a eiriam a - - - - o.
Yea Izib ye two drink Izib ye two drink.

U - - - wau Izib e e dirker ewatur.....
Yea [in] Izib he sinks it pulls him down.

IV.

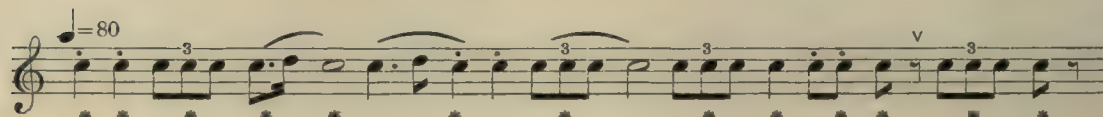
$\text{♩} = 120$



Ė ě - au ib'abara-u lewer ě ě - au ib'abara-u lewer ě ě - au kerim abara-u lewer ě.
Jaw his food jaw his food head his food.

V.

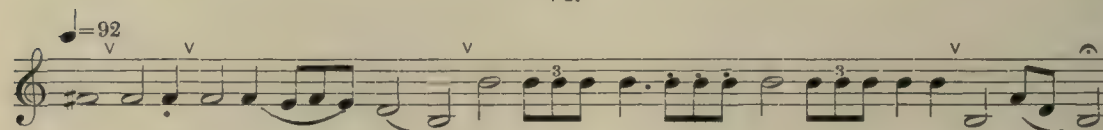
$\text{♩} = 80$



* * * * * U wa kodia - - ba.....wa.....wa kodiab - - a moia - ba daga-ta lagia - ba
Slur
* * * * * sigapai - a siga - si akamai - a.....waier babamulai.....

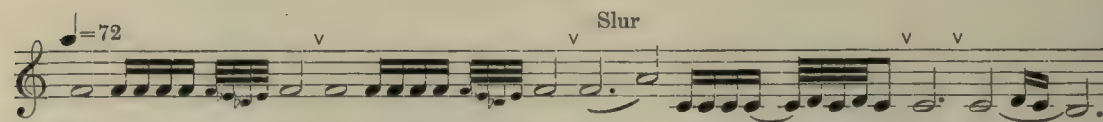
VI.

$\text{♩} = 92$



VII.

$\text{♩} = 72$

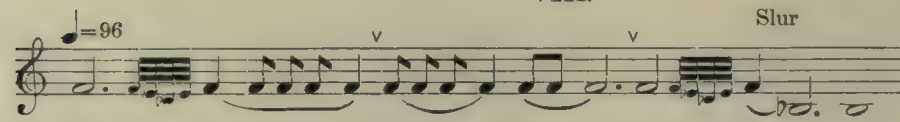


Wau kubi uti sa.....ei Ei kubi uti sa.....ei Ei.....baibaiita.....ei ei ei.....
This song was followed by the following words, chanted monotonously:—

Were were tepe were waru gadga were sidar gadga were tepe were baua gadga were.

VIII.

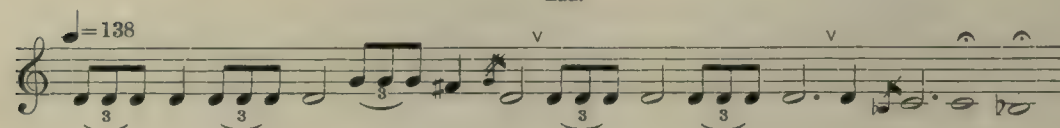
$\text{♩} = 96$



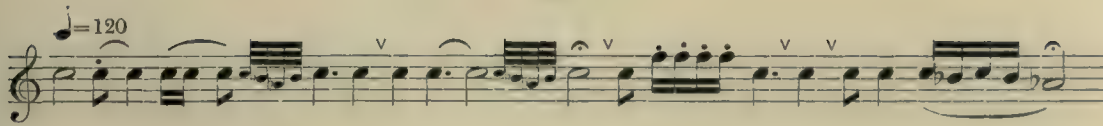
O.....meluba ei dudii ei dudi - i ei.....o.....di.

IX.

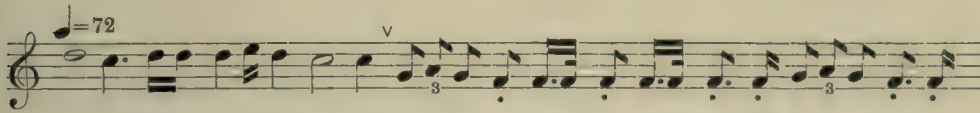
$\text{♩} = 138$



X.



XI.

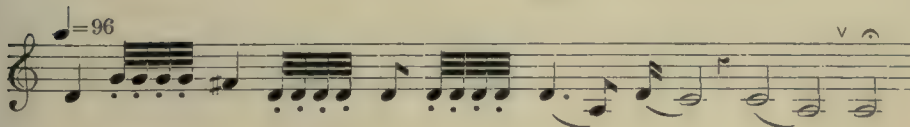


O.....dimer dimer di-me-er dimer di-me-er di-me-er di-me-er dimer di-me-er.

Another verse was sung to these words:—

O obarasa ganotaire dimer obarasa ganotaire.

XII.



O dudiaba ? - - - - -

The missing words of this song are probably *gebariaba mukeriaba tatarmauke*.

3. MOURNING.

(i) *Initial Observances.*

When the time had come to remove the body to the *paier* and to prepare it for mummification, the widow twisted up a petticoat of banana leaves, and passing it between her legs, fixed it at her waistband. This was the first sign of widowhood and was called *nesur atparek*.

At the *paier* the relations and friends helped one another to shave their hair. The men cut the hair from their faces as well as from their head. They left a transverse ridge of hair across the head in front of the plane of the two ears. This ridge, about 5 cm. (2 in.) broad, was called *kaisu* or *mus dari* from its resemblance to the head-dress (*dari*) worn at dances. The female relatives and friends left a similar ridge running from ear to ear (i.e. a little more posteriorly than the former), or, if they preferred it, a small tuft of hair at the vertex, called *kuk* from its fancied resemblance to a shell. The hair thus cut off was collected in a single heap and was left underneath the corpse.

The ashes of the wood fire were then dusted over the head of the widow or widower and over the heads of the relatives and friends. Their faces and bodies were smeared with a mixture of greyish earth, *bud*¹, and water. The widow was painted with *bud* by the wife of her husband's brother (her *neitawet*). Whenever a widow or a mourner sat down a mark was left (*bud puipi*) by the dry dust falling from the body.

¹ *Bud* is a dark grey alluvial soil found generally after the north-west monsoon season upon the roots of trees; these, carried by the floods down the Fly River, mostly from Kiwai, float across to Murray Island.

(ii) *Cutting the ears.*

Youths who had lately been initiated into the Malu ceremonies, and girls who had arrived at puberty, had the lobes of their ears cut (*laip sak*) upon the death of a near relative.

The operation was performed either at the *paier*, or while the body was "lying in state" previous to its erection thereon. The blood from the ear was allowed to drop on the feet of the corpse as a mark of pity (*omarelam*, "from pity") or of sorrow (*okasosoklam*) for the deceased. The lobes of the boys' and girls' ears were cut by one of their male relatives (*laip sak tonar le*), who used a bamboo-knife or *pater*. A branch of coral (*weswes*) was tied to the pendant part to prevent it from curling or shrinking. The operation was attended with great pain, to allay which the ears were well anointed with coco-nut oil and water (*sabid*). The cut ear was afterwards tied up with fine twine made from the coco-nut fibre.

The young folk referred to the event with pride: "*Kara laip sak baba lam*," "my ears were cut for father," and decorated them subsequently with seeds and grass at the dances. More rarely the ears were cut for a very distant relative, if the operation were particularly desired. The ears had been already pierced (*degoli*) at an earlier ceremony which was wholly unconnected with death.

(iii) *Koima marks.*

On or before the day of the *bud lewer* feast, the young adults underwent a further operation as a token of mourning for a parent or near relative,—the cutting of the *koima*.

The design chosen was drawn upon the skin in red paint (*maier*), and was then incised by means of a small shell (*kaip* or *us*). Those who were expert in cutting the *koima* were called *koima tonar le*. Women generally operated on the girls, men on the youths. During the incisions the young people were held down by their elders, as they often took fright and tried to run away. Sometimes they fainted under the ordeal. Several of the *koima* patterns were especially painful to cut, particularly those on the shoulder and breast. The cuts healed slowly, and until the healing was complete the young mourners were exempt from labour and wore their arms in a sling.

Subsequently they were always very proud (*au le teir*) of their *koima* patterns, considering them to be marks of great beauty, and painting them red or white at the dances so as to display them effectively. Indeed, the breast *koima* and sometimes the large shoulder *koima* might be cut merely for purposes of decorations, not only as a sign of mourning.

The blood flowing from the *koima* wounds cut on the back and, according to some, from those cut on the breast, was allowed to drop over the corpse, either while it was "lying in state" or when it had been raised onto the *paier*.

The first *koima* design (fig. 14) cut upon the young adults was of a simpler character than those which were cut on subsequent occasions of mourning. According

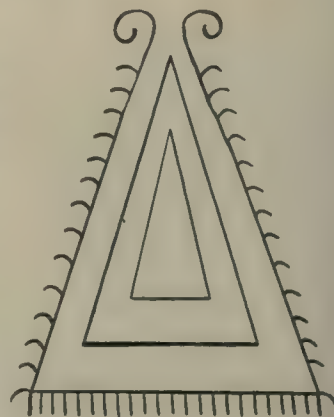


FIG. 14. *Kebi neur a kebi maker-emra Koima.*

to fancy, it was cut on the calf (*teter meròd koima*), on the outer side of the forearm (*tag meròd koima*) or on the back above the level of the hips (*kip sor koima*). On a girl's back it was cut above the level of the waist-belt. The two scrolls in the design were called *pis mus*¹, the fringe about the triangle was called *koimara pem*, or *koimara war*².

A few years later in the event of another death, this lesser *koima* (*kebi makerem a kebi neurra koima*, "youth and small girls' *koima*") was succeeded by other larger *au koima* which differed in form according to the sex of the mourner. The following were some of the designs cut upon the young women.

When between seventeen and twenty years old, the young women were cut with the large shoulder *koima* (*au neurra tugar koima*), which extended down the arm, measuring about 14 centimetres in length and 9 centimetres in breadth (fig. 15). If they could tolerate the pain, the *koima* was cut on both shoulders and arms, otherwise it was cut on one side only. In the cutting of this *koima*, a piece of skin was excised, so that a large wale might result. The four scrolls of the pattern were called *pis mus*¹. The cross in the centre represented a star (*neur koimara wer*). The fringe was called the *koimara pem*, as in the smaller *koima*.



FIG. 15. *Au neurra tugar koima*.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.

The large *koima* marks on the girls' breasts (*au neurra nano dub koima*, "big girl's breast scar *koima*") were of various designs. One of them (fig. 16) was usually cut at the age of sixteen or eighteen years. It consisted of two upper scrolls incised upon the sternum at the level of the upper margin of the breasts. From these scrolls a fringed pattern diverged to cover the inner side of the two breasts. This fringe, as in the two marks already described, was spoken of as the fingers (*nano dubara pem*). The inner markings were solely decorative (*no teir*). As the breasts grew larger and pendulous, the *koima* increased in size also (*a nano dub ekaseli*). Cf. also pl. XXI. fig. 9.

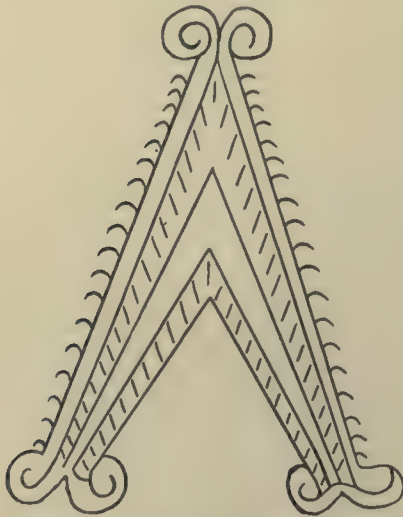
Another breast *koima* represented the back-bone and side-bones of the *ubar* fish, a kind of sole.

A centipede (*isi*) was a favourite design, cut either on each breast (*nano isi*) or on the upper arm near the shoulder (*tugar isi*). This was only cut on women. The centipede was represented crawling upwards (fig. 17). It was about 125 mm. in length. The islanders distinguished A, the "teeth" (*tereg*); B, the "curling hair" (*pis mus*); C, the "head" (*kerem*); D, the "feet" or "hands" (*teter* or *tag*); E, the "extensile body" (*buber gem*); and F, the "tail teeth" (*upi tereg*), as they suppose the centipede to bite with its tail. No reason could be discovered for the adoption of this design, further than that it was effective and easy to draw.

¹ Mr Bruce writes that *pis mus* was applied to any curling design, e.g. to the tendrils of a creeper, to the fins on the belly of a fish that curl into scrolls, or to the antennæ of an insect.

² These words mean "the fingers of *Koima*," according to Mr Bruce. *Pem warwar* is used for any design on calico or for the printed letters of a book; the suckers of an octopus are also called *pem*.

The *koima* on the face (*neurra bag war* or *neurra tole dub*) was cut only on young women, or on newly married women if it had not been cut previously to their marriage, which, however, was rarely the case. One form of it was lozenge-shaped (fig. 18), and was generally cut on both sides of the face. The upper curve followed the line of the cheek-bone about 25 mm. below the orbit, starting about 13 mm. from the nose. The front curve descended as far as the nostril. The size of the pattern was approximately three sq. cms. There was a star (*wer*) in the centre. The *koima* was called *tole dub* because the cross markings of the scar (*dub*) resembled the feathers of a certain bird (*tdle*), perhaps a snipe.

FIG. 16. *Au neurra nano dub koima*.FIG. 17. *Iai koima neur*.
 $\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size.FIG. 18. *Neurra tole dub*.
Nat. size.

Two other simpler face *koima* will be described. One was a cut which started about 13 mm. from the nose and proceeded backwards along the cheek-bone, curving round the latter and running forwards again to terminate about 13 mm. from the mouth. The other extended from the centre of the ear to the most prominent point of the cheek-bone when it curved downwards and backwards past the corner of the mouth, ending at the angle of the jaw (or, according to another account, it passed forwards and downwards past the mouth to the chin).

Cuts in the body or limbs which were not definite designs were also made as a mark of sorrow. Generally a man or woman would ask another of the same sex to perform this office for them. One reason given to Dr Haddon for this practice was, "Man he dead, he sore; we sore too."

(iv) *Full Mourning Dress.*

During the entire *bud lewer* feast (page 138) the widow sat apart from the rest, crying and wailing. No notice was taken of her until all had finished their food. Then the eldest brother or nearest male relative took a shell (*ezer*) and mixed in it *bud* and

water into a paste. He approached the widow and dipping his two forefingers¹ into the paste, drew them across her shoulders and across her upper arm on each of which he painted two streaks. The widow bade him mark the other mourners in the same fashion. This marking was called *bud desawi* or *bud egremer*, and was a signal for all the relatives and friends to assume their mourning attire.

The *neitawet*, or wife of the brother-in-law of the deceased, now smeared fresh *bud* over the widow's body, put wet ashes on her head, and then clothed her.

Instead of the ordinary petticoat, the widow wore an *ome nesur*, made of the inner bark of the fig tree, the front portion was passed between the legs and tucked into the belt behind, and the back portion was similarly fastened in front. The *nagar* was tied round the neck. This consisted of a necklace with two long fringes, about 23 cms. (9 in.) wide, usually made of the leaves of the sago palm, *bisi wam*, which hung down in front and behind as far as the knees. Over this was placed a broad *wagogob*, made from the bark of the *sem* tree (Hibiscus) and about 7.5 cms. (3 in.) wide, each band passed over one shoulder and under the opposite armpit, they crossed in front and behind and served to keep in their place the *nagar* and the other objects suspended from necklets. The ends were tied under the armpits and to these were attached tufts of the groin hair of the deceased. The *nagar* was fastened round the waist by a broad belt, *wak*. Fringes of sago leaves, about 15 cms. (6 in.) long, were placed on the upper arms, just above the elbow and on the legs immediately below the knees, *tag put* and *teter put*. Similar fringes, about half as long, encircled the wrists and ankles, *tag mus* and *teter mus*².

Round her neck the widow wore other necklets to which were attached the band, *mat lager*, which went round her husband's forehead, any ornaments he wore or particularly fancied, his groin shell; two pieces of stick covered with *bisi wam* which were the measured length of his right arm and leg bone, *tag lid* and *teter lid* (pl. XVIII. fig. 5); two similar pieces, which represented the length of his middle finger and index finger bones, *eip ke* and *baur ke* or *baur pem*; another, which represented the length of his nose, *pit autare*, "nose measure"; the dried palms of his hands and his dried tongue; a small bundle of plaited coco-nut fibre, *ked*, which was particularly valued by the widow as her husband had to handle it so much in making it. All these objects were worn in front over the



FIG. 19. Back view of a widow in mourning costume, and wearing an *ome nagar*.

¹ According to another account he used his index and middle fingers.

² The *nagar* and fringes came as trade-products from New Guinea in the new canoes. In the event of their having none, the Islanders substituted for *bisi wam* the bark of the ground-roots of the fig tree, *ome*, or the leaves of the pandanus, *abal*. The bark for the *ome nagar* was twisted into numerous coarse strings about 1.70 m. (42 in.) long, which hung before and behind from a cord round the neck. The two kinds of *nagar* might be worn separately or together. In former times the fig tree was held in great value for this purpose, and the *nagar* and *put* made from it were considered far superior to those made from the sago palm, as their manufacture entailed very great labour on the women's part, although it was a labour of love.

nagar. The following were worn behind: the arm and leg bands of the deceased and the dried soles of his feet, *teter paur* (fig. 19). All the above were called *maik koskerra bud taier*¹.

The male relatives (fig. 20) also wore the fringes on the arms and legs, the *wagogob* and the *nagar*. The last, however, was shorter, reaching only to the level of the navel in front and behind, it also might be made of *bisi wam* or *ome*.

The female relatives wore the widow's dress, but their *wagogob* was narrower. They did not tuck the petticoat between the legs but cut pieces from it at the sides so as to leave the sides of the thighs bare.

The male and female friends of the deceased wore the same mourning as the male relatives, save that they did not wear the *wagogob*. The women wore the short *nagar* of the males.

Thus the widow was easily distinguishable from the other mourners by her tucked-up petticoat, her broader *wagogob* and her unshaven head. The widower, on the other hand, was not distinguished in any way from other male relatives.

At first the mourning dress gave the islanders a very imposing appearance, but after a few weeks of wear this was entirely lost. They were supposed not to wash the *bud* off their face or body, but to keep on renewing it until the period of mourning was ended. Meanwhile they were not allowed to decorate themselves nor to take part in dancing and feasting. All the relatives of the deceased renewed the *bud* on their face and body and applied fresh ashes to their head periodically. The widow left her hair uncut during the period of her widowhood. In time she had an enormous mop, bleached to a light yellow colour by the ashes. She was not supposed to wash nor might she decorate herself with red paint on festive occasions.



FIG. 20. Male relative in mourning costume and wearing a *bisi nagar*.

¹ Mr Bruce has recently sent to the Museum a complete set of *bud lu*, "mourning things," the technique of which is described in detail in Vol. iv. Amongst these is a necklace (pl. XVIII. fig. 5), *nagar*, to which are suspended the following: (1) two objects, each of which consists of a piece of pandanus? leaf doubled round a central stick and bound transversely round with string which is knotted in such a manner as to form two spiral ridges or raised plaits. One spiral area is painted red and the other white. There is a tuft of fibre at each end. Their length is about 8.5 cm., one represents the length of the nose of the deceased, *pit tonar*, and the other is the length of his index finger. (2) Two similar objects, 26.5 cm. long, represent the length of the arm bones, and two others, 33 cm. long, represent that of the leg bones; in these objects a single plait runs down the whole length of the object, and the shorter specimens have a central double tassel, while the longer have two. All the string is reddened except the plait which is white. (3) Some *ked* (strips of coco-nut husk used for wrapping up bananas on the tree) which was one of the last things handled by the deceased, it is tied up in a neat cylindrical bundle with a tuft at each end. Also (4) his *mat lager*, *put* and *makamak*, and (5) wooden models of the palms and soles, as originals of these no longer exist. A *pit tonar*, 95 mm. long, filled with shreds of the deceased husband's clothing, instead of the usual hair, and decorated with bead tassels, *lamar kërur* or *tarpor kërur*, is shown on pl. XXVII. fig. 6. It was worn round the neck by the widow, together with a boar's tusk which the husband used as a scraper.

Such decoration was considered a very serious offence and would cause her late husband's relatives to inflict numerous ills upon her. She always wore the widow's dress, even when she visited other islands. As one garb decayed, she replaced it by another.

(v) *Destruction of Property as a Sign of Mourning.*

If a man died who had no family, his widow handed over all his effects to his male relations, who broke them up and burnt them; even stone-headed clubs were chipped into small pieces and thrown into the fire at the *paier*. If an only son died all his goods, and his father's also, were broken up and destroyed in the same manner; sometimes the parents collected them all inside the house and burned it down with the contents. Then they would ask their friends to go and destroy the food in their gardens, yams were dug out of the ground and chopped up, all growing food was destroyed, and everything that came in their way was cut down. This was considered proper mourning. The father and mother would keep calling out that, as they had no child, no more gardening would be done, for it was of no use, as there was now no one to eat the food. Such was their frenzy that nobody dreamt of staying his hand, but all tried to see who could destroy the most whilst the excitement was rife (cf. p. 136).

(vi) *Food during Mourning.*

The principal kinds of food used in the feasts were old, young and germinating coconuts, yams, especially the variety called *usari*, and bananas which had been wrapped up while hanging on the tree, a process which greatly improves the flavour. The renown of a funeral feast depended on the abundance of these bananas; although any kind of food might be eaten.

(vii) *Drinking the Juices of the Dead, etc.*

It was formerly the custom for men to drink the juices which exuded from the mummifying corpse. This "grease belong dead men" would be also mixed with the food and eaten. Men have been said to shut themselves in a house where they have remained for weeks, "wild" from the effects of the juices of a corpse, which they had eaten with their yams. The juices of dead women were never drunk or eaten.

Mr Bruce writes that the islanders now deny ever having drunk this oil; but "Ulai and others certainly told me they did drink it, and Ulai used to tell me with great gusto the different parts of a human body he preferred to eat. As they will not admit it, it is impossible to obtain further details."

About 1883 a bamboo tube containing human juice was brought from Dauar to Mer, and was distributed among several islanders who swallowed the juice.

(viii) *End of Mourning.*

When the relatives had decided that the time was come to discard their mourning, they appointed a day for a feast, the *mer aker lewer*. This was usually held in the afternoon and at the house of the deceased. A plentiful supply of food, or the approach of a great feast (*wetpur*) connected with their religious ceremonies (*zogo*) in which the mourners

wished to take part, was likely to curtail the period of mourning. On the other hand, it would be prolonged through scarcity of food. Dancing was not indulged in during the period of mourning.

The feast was provided by the eldest brother of the deceased, with the assistance of his male relatives. At its close the widow asked her brother-in-law to order the relatives to leave off mourning (*bud adem*). Whereupon they began to strip off the *wagogob*, *put* and *nagar*, they helped each other in cleaning the *bud* from their skin and the ashes from their hair, and they cut and trimmed their hair. The men paid special attention to their hair which was now long. They worked it into ringlets (*ed*) and applied charred coco-nut mixed with oil (*keg*) to it. The women donned new petticoats and decorated their faces with streaks of red paint according to their fancy. No particular design was used; all did their utmost to appear as "flash" (*au somai*) as possible.

The wife, however, of the deceased retained her widow's garb. By now she had discarded the skin of the palms and soles and the tongue of her lost husband, having thrown them away or given them to the children to play with; but she continued to wear the tucked up apron and the other signs of widowhood at least for a few years longer. It is said that some widows wore their "weeds" until their death, and that others discarded them only when they re-married. But the widow's dress was not suitable for every-day work, and in recent times, at least, was not usually worn for more than two or three years. So long, however, as she remained single, she continued to wear the tucked-up petticoat, though she had discarded every other sign of mourning, and as long as she remained a widow she eschewed all the ornaments she had worn whilst her husband was alive.

The widower, even if he kept unmarried, did not long remain in mourning. Generally he soon wanted to take part in some ceremony or dance, or to procure another wife, so he discarded his mourning at the feast (*mer aker lewer*) when the other relatives discarded theirs.

4. MODERN CUSTOMS.

Hearing one day, during my former stay at Murray, that a woman had died, and being grieved at the particular circumstances attending her death, I determined to pay my visit of condolence. After dark I went to the village where she had lived, and found her on the beach with her head towards the sea, and clothed in her best dress and wearing her new hat, all her fancy calico being laid on the body. The husband was sitting by the head, and close by were several men, women, and children laughing and chattering over their evening meal. Then the brother came up and bent over the body, wailing and sobbing.

Shortly afterwards a canoe was brought to convey the corpse to a more populous village, so that they might have a good cry.

Then I saw one of the most impressive sights it has yet been my lot to witness. It was a beautiful tropical moonlight night, the sand beach being illuminated with soft whiteness by the moon, and countless stars glittered overhead. On one side the strand was bordered by the gently lapping waves of the calm ocean, and on the other by a grove of coco-nut palms, their grey stems, arising from a confused shadow of undergrowth, topped by sombre feathery crowns, a peaceful adjunct to a scene of sorrow, and

the antithesis of the ghastly mockeries of the funeral plumes of the professional upholstery, which have only lately been abolished in England. A small crowd of some twenty or so of us were walking along the beach with the noiseless footfall of bare feet, keeping abreast of the canoe which, with its sad freight, was poled along by the husband at one end, and the brother at the other. As I saw the black silhouette of the canoe and its crew against the moonlit sky and sea, silently gliding like a veritable shadow of death, and heard the stillness of the air broken by the moanings of the bereaved ones, my mind wandered back thousands of years, and called up ancient Egypt carrying its dead in boats across the sacred Nile—there with pomp, ceremony, and imagery, here with simplicity, poverty and stern realism.

At length we came to the village, the inclosure of which was covered with family groups, mothers with babies surrounded by their families, and many a little one was laid asleep upon the sand, well wrapped up to keep off the flies.

The corpse was carried to a clear space, and again the gay trappings of life were spread over the dead. An old woman, I believe the deceased's mother, came to the head, and sitting down, bent over the body and commenced wailing. Then on all sides the cry was taken up mainly by the groups of women who by this time had taken their places round the dead. As one dropped out, another would join in, and so with varying accessions in volume, occasionally dying away to all but silence, the mournful sound continued through the night, rising and falling in weird manner, recalling to my memory the keening I had heard in far-away Kerry eighteen months previously.

Then I left them. The dead one surrounded by a changing circle of weeping women, beyond, the family groups each illumined by its own flickering fire, babies asleep, children playing, adults talking, young men laughing, and a little love-making taking place in the background; and above all the quiet, steady, bright face of the moon impassively gazing, like Fate, on the vicissitudes of human life¹.

The mourning dress is no longer used. The ears of the young people are no longer cut. There is no one now living who bears the *tugar* or the *nano koima*. Instead, the islanders wear a black band upon the arm in European fashion, and are very proud of the custom, practising it even when they can claim only a distant relation to the deceased. Mourning usually lasts about six months.

The dead are now interred in an enclosed cemetery. Instead of stealing the skull or the body of the deceased, a sprig is plucked from some plant or shrub growing beside the grave. The exchange of presents resulting from this degenerated theft of the *keber* is extended so as to include calico, cloth, and diverse other objects. A poor family will try to preserve appearances by showing the same objects repeatedly in different guise. Everything of value is eventually exchanged, each side trying to outdo the other in the number and value of goods they can exhibit.

An interesting example of the way in which alterations creep in when the rigidity of custom has been broken by modern influences is illustrated by an incident of which Mr Bruce informed us after we had returned home. He says, "I have just returned from Zaub, Harry's place, where there is a great muster of people dancing. The Murray

¹ The foregoing account, except the last two paragraphs, has appeared in *Head Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, 1901, p. 83.

men went through one of Waïet's *keber* modified by Wanu (15A), who had a dream which suggested to him this adaptation. The performers represented spirits, *lamar*, and wore large glasses over their eyes, which gave them a very peculiar appearance. A piece of the flower stalk of a banana hung down from their mouths, which, being of a blood-red colour, looked very much like a tongue. A fillet was tied round the forehead, into which was inserted a white heron's feather over each temple. A broad red crescentic band was painted from ear to ear crossing the tip of the nose. Both hands were held vertically and each wrist was tied to one end of a piece of bamboo, about 61 cm. (2 ft.) in length, from which depended a number of *gòà* nuts which rattled with every movement. The idea was, that these men represented the ghost, or spirit, of a body that was still lying on a *paier*, and all the spirits were supposed to have decided to go on a spree, as they heard men having a dance, *kab*. They said to each other, "Where is the *kab eri*? It is now night and dark, let us go and look on." This was the motive plot of the dance as told to me by the composer. No playwright on a successful first night could have met with a heartier reception than did Wanu, and he went about during the performance with a stone-headed club in his hand, and striking attitudes, beat his breast and called out, "*Kaka nali! kaka nali! ai! ai! waiiai!*" ("I'm here! I'm here!"; *waiiai* is an exclamation of wonder and surprise); and he defied the Dauar people to provide anything to excel his performance. They on their part were wild, and accused him of filching the idea from Waïet's *zogo* of Ne, which belongs to Dauar. I thought there was going to be trouble between them, but all subsided when the performance was finished. The staging of the affair was very effective. The drummers and chorus sang the opening overture, *babana*, and at the same time there was made an extra illumination by means of coco-nut leaf torches. All at once, at a signal from the drummers, the torch-bearers struck out their flaming brands, and showers of sparks and crackers were flying in the dense darkness that ensued. At this moment the spirits appeared in a body and began their dance in what, at first sight, was a confused mass, but when the movements were watched a certain kind of order was discernible.

"The Murray people were in a great state of excitement, and the Dauar folk grew jealous and yelled their loudest when they saw the drift of the performance. The dancers kept on and paid not the slightest heed to all the uproar. The torches were finally relit to show up the spirits.

"Immediately after the conclusion of this weird show the Dauar men gave their performance, which was arranged by Pasi (27). This was a snake dance, *tabu kab*, which, a short time before, he had seen performed by Muralug men on Horn Island."

5. MEMORIALS.

In a gully near the Mission house there was a large stone bird which represented a Torres Strait Pigeon, *daumer*. This and other carved stones were said to be memorial stones which a man would make so that if future generations should ask, "Who made this?" it would be said that "so and so made it." This memorial was made by Paipa, "a long-time ago man."

IX. PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE.

BY THE LATE ANTHONY WILKIN.

QUEENSLAND law has not affected native land tenure which is upheld in the court of the island. In a few instances it is not impossible that English ideas—especially of inheritance—are making themselves felt. There is no common land, and each makes his own garden on his own land at his own convenience.

INHERITANCE.

In most, if not all, cases the children or heirs of the deceased have been acquainted with his intentions regarding them during his lifetime. The father usually went over his gardens with his children, pointing out to each child the portions that are to be his or hers.

"Suppose brother he stop, girl he no get 'im garden belong 'im" was the remark of a native. Mr Bruce says "The eldest son gets the lion's share—girls get very little, just enough for a marriage portion." Besides his share of the family land a son inherits any property left to his mother during her life.

An only daughter inherits the property of both parents, but if her paternal uncle—her father's eldest brother—is alive he acts as guardian both to her and to her mother, on whom however the real responsibility rests.

On the death of a wife the husband must give back her portion to her relatives—at least so soon as he contemplates remarriage. Ulai (11), for instance, should have returned, firstly, the property of his wife Veet and, secondly, of his wife Kabur, but he has not done so, and as he has a reputation for sorcery the real claimants do not come forward. For this occupation in usufruct of their land he pays nothing.

If there is no family and no surviving relative the neighbours divide deceased's land among themselves.

Women often own land specially given to them by their mothers. On their marriage such land is handed over, to be equally divided, among their brothers.

"Formerly," says Mr Bruce, "a man could leave his land to any one he liked of his family, or even alienate it, during his lifetime; but even so the family were not left without provision." Such cases only occurred when the father had many and scattered gardens. Pasi of Dauar says that he was thus left sole heir to the property of two old men—brothers—whom he had befriended, but he was involved in litigation in spite of their well-known intentions towards himself (probably this is the property mentioned in connection with the *zogo le* of the *lag zogo*).

If a father is very angry with his children he is competent to disinherit them. Such action is very uncommon, is generally richly deserved, and is usually taken with regard to an unnatural son.

If there are no children, the father's brothers and sisters divide the land among themselves.

An adopted son, if there be no children, takes precedence over blood relations. A child adopted out of his or her own family does not inherit land from the real father (see account of the *zogo le* of the *lag zogo*).

The distribution of personal belongings has been referred to on p. 135, and the destruction of property on pp. 136, 159.

WOMEN IN RELATION TO LAND.

The wife can scarcely be said to own land in an individual capacity. What is hers is also the family's and what is the family's is hers—in usufruct.

The widow and her children are in an unenviable position¹, especially if the latter are young and incapable of attending to their own interests. The eldest brother of the late father can take charge not only of the land and gardens, but of the house, the personality of the occupants, and may even demand of the widow the bodies of her children. That in former times he generally married his deceased brother's wife there can be no doubt—so extravagant are the claims now put forward by him of guardianship and supervision. In fact, says Mr Bruce, "he fills the father's place." See also Wardship.

Unmarried daughters.

Girls have little land if they have many brothers, but it must be remembered that their chances of marriage are much increased by the system of exchanging sisters. A large family of girls would be a misfortune that is not allowed to occur. As we have seen, women whether unmarried or married are in possession of land given them by their mothers which they lose when they marry.

Marriage portions.

These are generally all the land a girl owns, unless she be an only or favourite child. However at marriage friends often make presents of land and property of different kinds. In 1897 a girl on getting married was given two house sites—one by her brother—a garden by the same brother and a second garden by another friend. This was done when the ceremony was over, so the wife shared her new possessions

¹ A widow was a servant to her eldest brother-in-law, if he had a wife she had to assist her in bringing food from the gardens, keeping the gardens clean, spearing fish and getting shell-fish on the reef at low water, in cooking and other household work. If she was young she had a jealous wife to contend with, and if old she would have a large share of work to do. If her brother-in-law was single and living with his parents, the widow would reside with them, assisting in the work, until the time came for the relatives to discard mourning, when she might marry, or be forced to go and live with her own friends, by the treatment she might receive from her late husband's relatives, especially if she were not wanted as a wife by any of them; but if a brother (or a cousin on either the male or female side) of her husband's wanted her for a wife she would probably be treated in a better manner to woo her into the family again. There is no evidence that widows or other persons were ever immolated on men's graves.

with her husband at once. Should there be no issue such presents (some of which are previously paid for) revert to their donors or donors' families. Rich husbands often return their wives' marriage portions.

WARDSHIP.

We have seen something of the position of the eldest brother-in-law and the widow. Not only can the eldest surviving brother of the deceased claim the widow, children and property, but even any acquaintance of the late head of the family, who is prepared to swear that so the dead man willed it. Such self-appointed guardians are the source of much trouble, especially when the boys grow up and demand their own, which they usually do at about the age of seventeen. The guardian is supposed to apportion to each child its share of land, but he often contrives by adopting them into his own family to acquire their property. Out of it he distributes to them as little as he dare, keeping the rest for his own heirs. Under ordinary circumstances—when the guardian does not marry his sister-in-law or at least the widow and has not adopted the children as his own—the marriage of the eldest confers upon him or her the headship of the family. Thus the father's guardian is succeeded by the natural guardian—the eldest son or the husband of the eldest daughter. The widow, if there are no children of her marriage, never returns to her family but lives with her husband's brother (or brothers); in this case the brother retains the property, giving only what he chooses to the widow. Should the widow having no children marry out of the husband's family, she forfeited all her husband's property. In the event of a widow remaining single, but forced through bad treatment to return to her own family, she always has her own portion of garden land from her father to fall back upon for her own support.

It is obvious that this system of wardship has a profound direct influence on the tenure and distribution of land. Mr Hunt says, "In the event of the death of both the parents the child would be adopted by the father's family" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii., p. 12).

TRANSCERENCE OF LAND.

Unlike the greater part of British New Guinea the Murray Islands are the scene of exchanges, sales, leases and loans of land and house sites. Exchanges, however, are confined to the working and produce of gardens belonging to two friends. No idea of convenience has ever prompted an exchange of two gardens or two house-sites.

The sale, too, of such landed property is unusual and is probably due to European or at least alien influences. Some land is bought more or less under compulsion by Government and Mission, and the principle is admitted. Strangers are said, however, to have been always permitted to buy land.

It is difficult to distinguish between leases and loans in Mer. Perhaps the loans give rise to more disputes than the leases, but both are very fertile sources of trouble. "Natives," says Mr Bruce, "lend each other land and most of their difficulties arise from this custom." Especially was this true in former times, when every property

that adjoined the shore was bounded by the edge of the reef. The land was lent and endless disputes ensued over turtle and fish and whatever else tempted the cupidity of the lender.

The custom of lending their gardens to others is called *kebe le tonar* or *gelar tonar* (taboo custom) or *imeri*. The owner of the land is called *su le* or *so le*, that is, "the man who goes away"; the man who takes charge of the land is the *kebe le*, and his assistants are called *berer kebe le*.

The appointment of a *kebe le* is made by voting. When a man makes a request to be *kebe le* of some one—or rather of several people, for usually several gardens are taken by one man—all the people interested would meet to talk it over and to determine if he were a fit and proper person for the undertaking. Perhaps some one else would make an offer. Each man present picks a midrib from a leaflet of a coco-nut leaf and the headman of the land names a candidate and asks if the others are favourable, and, if so, they stick the midribs into a piece of banana stem. The decision is made by a majority of votes, and the successful candidate is informed that the land is his for a year and no one will go near it, even secretly. The *kebe le* informs the *su le* when the harvest is ready, and the food is collected and distributed.

Mr J. Bruce saw a distribution about 1895; it was a very large affair and nearly half of the people on the island were implicated. The food was exhibited on a Friday and Saturday; the two Mamoooses Arei and Pasi kept watch over the food all day Sunday, and on Monday it was distributed, the *su le* getting the first share. No trouble arose.

There is an idea that the gardens will produce more food by this custom than by the ordinary method, and probably it is so, as the *kebe le* take a pride to do their best in tending the borrowed gardens, even to the neglect of their own gardens.

This custom has been stopped by Finau, the Samoan teacher.

House-sites (*metara uteb*) were and are often lent. A sort of rent is, however, paid, generally by the performance of certain repairs, or simply by the maintenance in good order at his own expense as the tenant of property, which the owner could not personally undertake. The terms were generally for the four or five years during which a house was weather-proof. The house went to pieces, the old tenant went out, a new house was built and a new tenant found, to keep it in order. Had this not been done there was always a risk of neighbours trespassing upon little visited property. No warning of eviction was necessary. In most cases the house was occupied by two or three men, with or without families, who lived together in more or less harmony. This kind of tenure was open to the objection of uncertainty, and it certainly led to bad feeling; it is no longer recognised in the court of the island.

At the same time as the house the land was often lent, but the tenant had to pay a share of the produce to the owner. The first application for this kind of rent is now generally met by a gift of calico.

A regular system of hiring a man for half the produce to look after a garden has come into being—its origin being evidently due to above custom. In addition to this rough *métayage*, friends are specially paid for assistance in clearing gardens. Only very old and tried associates plant coco-nuts and bananas on each other's land and share the

fruit. This custom, too, may be said to constitute an exchange of rights, if not of gardens; but it is attended by certain dangers.

DIVISION OF LAND AND BOUNDARIES.

Formerly every man's shore property extended over the reef¹. How fruitful a source of dispute this was in a fishing community it is easy to understand. At present things are a little better. Each property is bounded by high-water mark. Even thus, any one who catches turtle or *tup* on the reef is expected to pay a fine to the adjacent landowner of a portion of his capture. Logs and other "flotsam and jetsam" are of course the property of the owner of the foreshore.

A small reef patch between Mer and Dauar used to be the boundary between the islands. The *Giar le* claimed all fish and turtle for the Dauar side, and the Mamoose of Dauar cut up the latter, giving a fair portion of both to the catchers and distributing the rest.

Every district had its landmark—a tree, or rock, or other natural feature. In the interior boundaries between gardens are often marked by ridges of earth. There is no common land on the island.

Nowadays fences are substituted for mounds and rocks. Even brothers often fence off their shares of the old family garden with bamboo.

These precautions are rendered necessary by the conduct of the Murray Islanders themselves. They are imbued with the idea that the land and the trees, or the crop on it, must belong to the same person. Thus if a man has a banana garden next to a yam patch, and can contrive to put a few banana cuttings among his neighbour's yams, his property will in a short time be so much increased. On one occasion a party of picnickers dropped certain pumpkin seeds on the foreshore which produced a plant and fruit. A preposterous claim was made for the land on the ground that the pumpkin grown from the claimants' seed gave them a right to the land it grew on. Even fences are pulled up and replaced, in the absence of the owner, a few feet or yards, according to circumstances, inside his ground.

Murray Islanders own land on Erub—probably in consequence of intermarriage—and they resort thither to "make their gardens" at long intervals, and especially at times when some temporary cause has rendered them unpopular at home.

Water holes are in theory the property of the finder, but in reality are common to all.

¹ I think there is what may be termed a spatial projection of the idea of proprietorship. As foreshore rights of landed property extend not only over the adjacent reef but to the water over it—as in the case of fish caught within the area—so the inhabitants of certain areas appear to have a pre-emptial right to certain distant fishing stations which lie off their part of the coast. If this be so it would probably account for the *kōmet le* bringing the traders in canoes for the Miriam, since their coast looks out towards New Guinea whence canoes are imported. Just as we were on the point of leaving Mer we discovered that there was a personal or family ownership in certain stars; unfortunately we obtained this information too late to follow it up. There was also a distinct idea of proprietorship in local legends, for a man never liked to tell the story belonging to another man's place. A. C. H.

LIVE STOCK.

Dogs, pigs and fowls are private property. The pigs are probably native but the dogs are more European in breed than Papuan. The pigs used to run wild and do considerable damage to gardens. These were destroyed, as were also some goats introduced by the white men, for the same reason. A few pigs occasionally get wild even now, and it is a question to whom they would belong if shot, even though the former ownership is well known.

Fowls were introduced from Australia *via* Erub, and are not therefore of native origin.

NOTES.

The sense of property is very well developed. It is doubtful whether in New Guinea any man can alienate land from his family in the way that has been countenanced at Mer.

A few pawpaw trees round the old mission house are said to belong to natives, while the ground belongs to the London Missionary Society. Even if this be true the fruit is not claimed.

Fishing parties divided the catch between them.

The utmost care is taken in the numerous cases of adoption to keep the children in ignorance of their real parentage. Sooner or later, however, the secret leaks out in most instances, and the complications that ensue—especially with regard to land—have to be dealt with by the court.

A whole village helps to dig a new well. This is the only instance of communal labour.

Gardens and houses of Ulai of Sebeg (11).

* = a house. † = a house in disrepair.

A Inherited from his father Masak.

Bòged**, Wageb, Arped, Doped, Soreb, Gagai.

Sebeg*, Wagir, Newar, Ulag.

B From his first wife Weit of Warwe.

Eum—now uncultivated.

C From his second wife Kabur of Bòged.

Bauer†, Zomared*, Karbur, Bodmob, Zole.

D From Sisa of Sebeg (11).

Zomar.

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X. SOCIAL ORGANISATION.

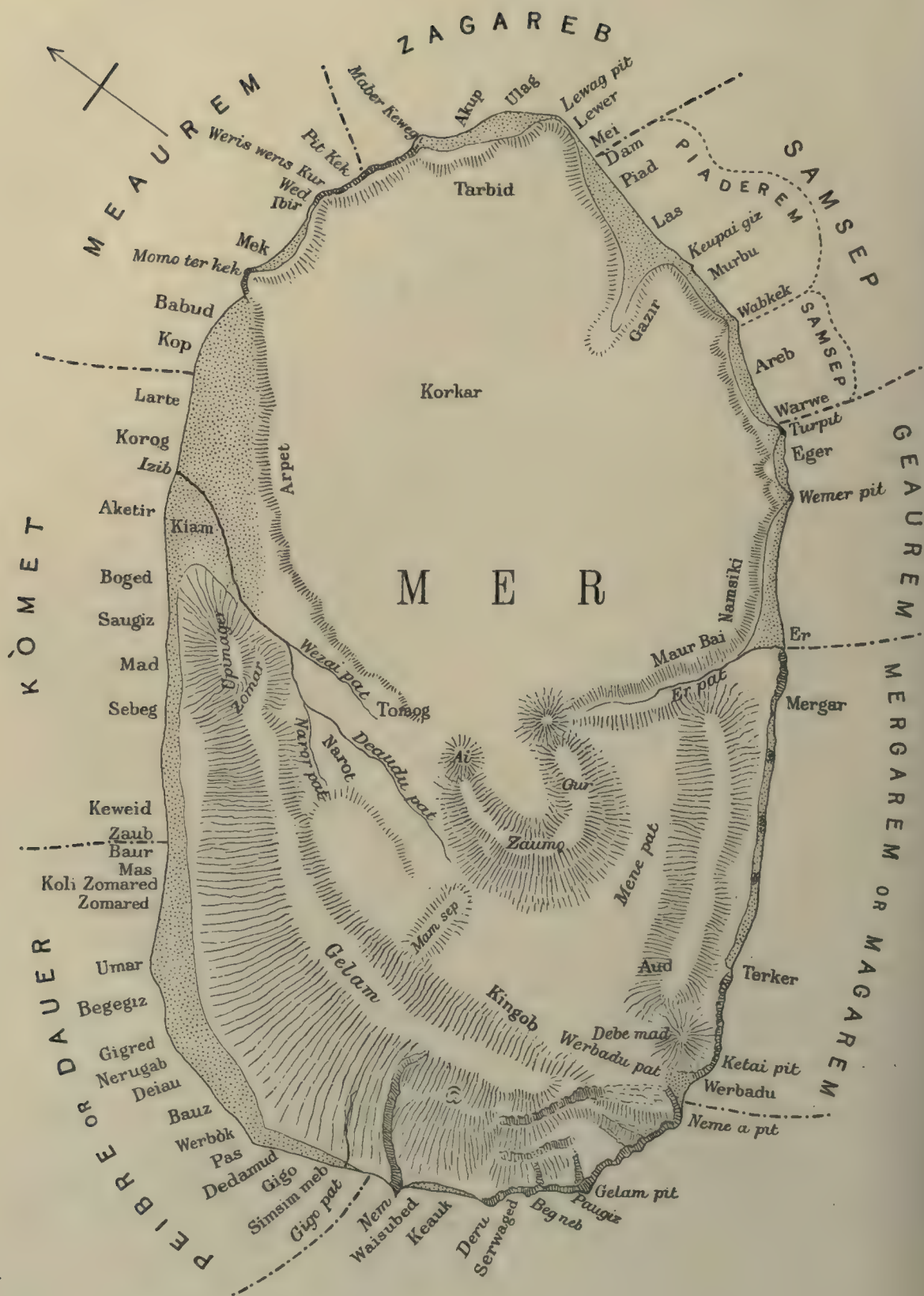
By W. H. R. RIVERS.

THERE is much that is very difficult to understand about the social organisation of the Miriam people. At the present time the most definite feature of the organisation is the existence of a system of exogamy in which the village is the social unit, but there also exist other groupings of the people which are probably of social significance, though it is far from easy to understand how these different groupings are related to one another.

It will be best to begin with a description of these groupings, which are four in number; firstly, a grouping in villages, of especial importance in connection with marriage; secondly, a grouping in districts; thirdly, a dual division into two groups, called the *Beizam le* and the *Zagareb le*; and lastly, a grouping of people who are named after certain animals. These may be considered in order.

Every man claims to belong to a certain village which is the village of his father, either by descent or adoption. He does not necessarily live in this village nor must he have been born in it, but wherever he may live, he always calls himself a man of the village to which he belongs by birth or adoption. It has been seen (pp. 119—20) that the marriage of a man is definitely regulated by means of the village to which he belongs and by those of his mother and his father's mother. It seems that in thinking about restrictions on marriage the Miriam have not so much in their minds certain kin but certain villages; a man will say "I may not marry this or that village."

At the present time there are about 22 villages in Mer which are regarded as forming separate units for the purposes of the regulation of marriage. The exact number is rendered uncertain owing to the existence of a distinction between big and little villages. In distinguishing these villages the Miriam use the expressions *au nei* (big name) and *kebi nei* (little name). Thus close to the village of Gigred there are two smaller villages, Begegiz and Nerugab; at the latter there is a house, while at the former there is at present no house though there has probably been one in the past. When Gigred was used as an *au nei*, it included all three villages, while Gigred, Begegiz and Nerugab were *kebi nei* for the three constituent villages of the whole group. Similarly Bòged as an *au nei* included the village of Aketir, and the family of Malo (7) which lived at the latter place was at first said to belong to Aketir, and it was only later that I found that for the purposes of marriage regulation, this was regarded as a part of Bòged. It is probable that some of the villages which have been included in the genealogical tables as distinct villages are really only *kebi nei*; thus,



it is probable that Mad ought to be regarded as part of Sebeg, and there was some question whether Keweid was not also part of the same village. Again it is probable that Akup is really a *kebi nei*, forming part of Ulag. The fact that no marriages have occurred between Keweid, Sebeg and Mad, nor between Akup and Ulag, is in favour of the view that these five villages should only be regarded as two villages in the sense of *au nei*. This distinction between *au nei* and *kebi nei* is one which we shall meet again in connection with the social organisation. The terms have much the same significance as genus and species, the group denoted by the *au nei* including those denoted by the *kebi nei*.

For the island of Dauar our information about the villages is less definite, chiefly because the people have now ceased to live on their own island, but here again there appears to be a definite grouping into villages such as Kameri and Eipkes¹, though it is possible that these are the names of districts rather than of villages.

The second grouping found in the island of Mer is one into the districts which are shown in the map on the opposite page. So far as we know, this division into districts applies only to the periphery of the island, and the inner boundaries of the districts cannot be defined, but this is of small consequence for all the houses and villages are on the sea coast. There is some doubt about the exact limits of these districts along the coast and also whether some may not be included in larger districts, i.e. whether their names are not *kebi nei*. These districts may be considered in order, beginning with the important district of Kòmet.



Kòmèt extends from Zaub to Larte. There was some doubt as to its northern limit, this being Korog or Aketir according to some, but, as there are now no houses at either Korog or Larte, this uncertainty is not of much importance. There is also some doubt about the character of Zaub at the other end. The people of this village are known as the Oparem *le*, and it may be that this name is that of another district of the island, but however this may have been in the past, it is clear that at the present time Zaub is part of the district of Kòmèt.

The next district going northwards is Meaurem, extending from Kop to some point between Mek and Akup. There was some question whether this district is not really part of Kòmet. According to Mr Bruce the inhabitants of Kòmet and Meaurem are

¹ The situation of this place was not determined.

regarded as one people. One part of this district was distinguished from the rest as Saisereb and its people as Saisereb *le*. This district, which receives its name from the habit of eating raw fish ascribed to its inhabitants, extends from Kop to Babud (inclusive). This name is also applied to the inhabitants of Bòged, a village of Kòmet, and it would seem improbable that it denotes a district of any social importance. We shall see later that in some respects there are important differences between Kòmet and Meaurem, and the latter has therefore been put in the map as a separate district.

The district from Akup to Mei or from Wed to Mei is called Zagareb, a term which is also applied to people belonging to other districts.

The next district is that of Samsep, extending from Dam to Warwe. This district has two sub-divisions; one called Piaderem extending from Dam to Wabkek, and the other called Samsep including Areb and Warwe. Here Samsep is an *au nei* of which Piaderem and Samsep are *kebi nei*. It may be noted, however, that in the *Dogaira wetpur* ceremony each of these two districts has its own performance.

The next district is that of Geaurem, extending from Turpit to Er and including only two villages. Then follows Mergareu or Magareu extending from Mergar to Werbadu.

The remainder of the coast is divided into two parts. The part from Baur to Gigo is called Peibre or Dauer (not to be confused with Dauar) and the people are in general known as Peibre *le* or Dauereb *le*, but the inhabitants of Gigo are distinguished from the rest as *Nog le*, having come from Waraber, so that they are regarded as foreigners and have no place in the more important institutions of the island.

The part extending from Nem to Neme a pit has no distinctive name. The part between Nem and Deru was used by the Dauar people in the old time when there was a taboo on their own island (see article on Taboos), and the rest of the coast from Deru to Neme a pit is occupied by a small cliff, so that there is no room for houses. It is noteworthy that the district between Wed and Akup, which is occupied by a similar cliff, has possibly also to have no distinctive name.

The people inhabiting or belonging to each of these districts are known by the name of the district, being called the Kòmet *le*, the Meaurem *le*, etc. It is not clear that these districts have any social significance at the present time, though it is possible that marriages between villages belonging to the same district are somewhat less frequent than those between villages of different districts. Nevertheless everyone on the island knows his district or division, and if asked to what place he belongs may (with or without giving the name of his village) say that he is a Kòmet *le* or a Piaderem *le*.

The other two groupings of the people are especially connected with the Bomai-Malu cult, and it is doubtful what is their social significance, or indeed whether they have any social significance at all apart from the Malu ceremonies. The members of the Malu fraternity fall into two main classes, the *Beizam boai* and the *Zagareb*, and all the inhabitants of Mer with the exception of the *Nog le* appear to have belonged, or to have had the right to belong, to one or other of these classes.

The *Beizam boai* or the *Beizam le*, "shark brethren" or "shàrk men," were the leading members of the fraternity, and all the Kòmet *le* and Samsep *le*, together with the inhabitants of Mergar and Terker, were members of this class.

The *Zagareb* were the singers and drum-beaters at the Malu ceremonies and included the *Meaurem le* and other inhabitants of the northern end of the island, the *Geaurem le*, and the people of Werbadu among the *Mergarem le*. They were also called the *Warup le*, or drum-people, from one of their chief functions in connection with the Malu cult.

The *Dauereb le* were described as *Tebud* or friends, and acted as assistants to both *Beizam le* and *Zagareb le* in the ceremonies. They claimed to be both *Beizam* and *Zagareb*, probably because they helped both classes in the ceremonies, providing them with food. They laid especial claim to be *Beizam*, but this was probably because the *Beizam* was the more important of the two divisions. The *Nog le* took no part in the Malu ceremonies, so that they do not enter into this dual division of the islanders into *Beizam* and *Zagareb*.

It will be noticed that in general the people of a given district belong to one or other of the two Malu divisions, but in two cases it would seem that members of one district belong to different divisions. The *Mergarem le* living at Mergar and Terker are *Beizam*, while those living at Werbadu are *Zagareb*; and similarly of the *Kòmet* and *Meaurem le*, who seem in some ways to be regarded as one people, the former are *Beizam* and the latter *Zagareb*. There is thus in these two cases a want of correspondence between the Malu grouping and the grouping into districts.

The classes just considered belonged especially to the Bomai or initiation ceremonies proper. In the Malu dances, on the other hand, men took part who were named after certain animals and this forms the fourth kind of grouping of the Miriam to be considered. The groups were: (i) the *Omai le* or dog men, who were either *Beizam boai* living at Zaub, or *Zagareb* living at Mek and Er; (ii) the *Daumer le*, or pigeon men, who were all *Beizam boai*, living at Bòged, Las and Areb; (iii) the *Geregere¹ le* who were *Beizam boai*, living at Zaub and Areb. Some of the Dauar people were called *Wazwaz le*, being named after a kind of shark, and they were associated with the *Beizam le*.

In discussing the relations of these four groupings it will be most convenient to begin with those which have just been described, and to take this opportunity of discussing how far there is any evidence of the social system having been at one time based on a totemic grouping. So far as we could learn, the dog people and those who took their names from the two birds had no other function than that of performing their respective dances in a ceremony at Las. There is no evidence of any kind that they are derived from totem-clans of the Miriam. In the article on the Bomai-Malu ceremonies it will be shown that in all probability this cult was introduced from outside, and probably ultimately from New Guinea. The *geregere* bird does not exist in the Murray Islands, but belongs to New Guinea, and it is probable that this grouping has nothing to do with the social organisation of the Miriam, whatever may have been its origin in the place from which the Bomai-Malu cult was derived.

If this position is accepted we have to put these groups entirely on one side in discussing whether totemism has or has not existed among the Miriam.

¹ For a description of the *geregere* bird, see the account of the participants in the Bomai-Malu Ceremonies.

There is, however, one fact which should perhaps make us hesitate before we put this body of evidence on one side in this summary fashion, and that is the definite connection of the animal groups with certain villages. It is possible that this is merely due to the fact that on the first performance of the Malu dances in Mer, the dances of each kind were learnt by people of these villages, and that the performance of these dances has been regarded as the right of the people of these villages ever since. There is, however, another possibility which may be mentioned. The Malu tradition distinctly states that the introducers of the cult left the island after teaching it to the inhabitants, but if we disregard this tradition, it might be supposed that some of the introducers of the cult remained on the island and settled in the villages of Zaub, Bòged, Mek, Las, Areb, and Er.

The general question whether totemism has existed among the Miriam will be fully discussed by Dr Haddon elsewhere, and I content myself here with mentioning some of the facts collected by him which bear especially on the nature of the social organisation. Of the many varieties of magic possessed by the islanders, nearly every one is connected with some group of the people and is not practised by the community at large. Some are the especial property of the *Beizam* and *Zagareb*, and therefore do not concern us here. Others belong especially to districts; thus, the *nauareb* or garden *zogo* belongs to the Kòmet; the *nam* (turtle) *zogo* belongs to both Kòmet and Meaurem, but more particularly to the latter. Other kinds of magic seem to belong to villages; thus, the *werer agem kerar tonar zogo*, which has the power of making people hungry and lean, was the especial possession of Umar; the *birobiro*, or yam, *zogo* belonged to Sebeg; the *lag*, or mosquito, *zogo* belonged to Zomared; the *meidu*, or *sab*, taboo on gardens was the especial privilege of Warwe; and the *wag*, or wind, *zogo* was located at Eger, together with the adjoining Turpit. In the last case there is a definite geographical reason why the *zogo* should have its seat at Eger, for the adjoining point of land, Turpit, would be directly exposed to the south-east trade, the prevailing wind during the greater part of the year. It may be that there are other similar geographical or economical motives for the connection of *zogos* with certain villages or districts, and it is very difficult to see in this connection any evidence that either villages or districts have ever been totemic clans.

Again, the Miriam regard certain animals as sacred, and believe that the dead appear in the forms of these animals, but there is no definite evidence to show that these animals were ever connected with the social organisation, though the facts that all the neighbours of this people have a totemic organisation can leave little doubt that their society was also at one time organised on this basis. One of the chief interests of the social organisation of the Miriam is the complete disappearance of all traces of a totemic system which it is almost certain must have once existed.

Just as the animal people of the Malu dances suggest the existence of totemism, so does the division of the people into *Beizam le* and *Zagareb le* suggest a dual organisation of the kind which we found to have existed in the Western Tribe, and still exists in Australia and probably in New Guinea. Here, if we are to be consistent, the introduction of the Malu cult from outside must lead us to reject these classes of the Malu fraternity as evidence that a dual organisation was an original feature of

Miriam society. There are, however, some facts which suggest that the dual division of the Malu fraternity may have fitted in with a previous dual organisation already existing on the island. The *Beizam le* have the exclusive right to practise certain forms of divination, while several forms of magic belong especially to the *Zagareb*. The latter people alone possess the power of making rain and of drum-beating, and they alone can set in action the form of malignant magic called *kamer tonar* and the curative magic called *kekuruk*. The latter forms of magic may have been introduced at the same time as the Malu cult, but it is extremely unlikely that this should also have happened in the case of so essential a form of magic as rain-making and the fact that the *Zagareb* alone practise this magical art suggests that they correspond in some way with an ancient division of the people.

The analysis by Miss Hingston of the marriages recorded in the genealogies has shown no evidence that the division into *Beizam* and *Zagareb* has had any influence on marriage. Marriages between people belonging to either of the two divisions take place quite as frequently as those between *Beizam le* and *Zagareb le*.

Apart from the two classes of the Malu cult there is little other evidence of a dual organisation. There is a certain amount of rivalry between the two sides of the island, but not more than might arise from purely geographical causes. There are traces of a certain connection between villages of the two sides; thus Zaub and Er are connected by the legend of Pop and Kod (see p. 19) and by the joint *keber* of the *pop le op* (see p. 135), and only at Sebeg and Areb were held the *meket siriam* initiation ceremonies, though the villagers from Ulag to Er also participated. We have no evidence of any similar connection between villages of the same side of the island.

The analysis of the marriage record again fails to reveal any evidence of a marriage regulation that people of one side of the island should marry those of the opposite side, but it must be remembered that, as in the Mabuiag-Badu community (see Vol. v., p. 235), the fact that marriage is prohibited with the families of both father and mother must have destroyed any phratriac marriage arrangements which may at one time have existed.

There remains to be considered the relation between the village grouping and the districts into which the island of Mer is divided, and also the general question how there has come into existence a territorial rather than a totemic system among this people.

We have seen that there is no direct evidence that the social system has ever been totemic, though the undoubted totemism of their neighbours can leave little doubt that formerly their organisation had this basis. Leaving, however, this possible early totemic origin on one side, it is probable that at one time the districts formed the units of the social organisation, and that marriage, kinship and descent were regulated on this basis, and that the present system in which the village is the social unit has developed out of this district system. We have seen that there is some evidence that the function of the districts in the regulation of marriage has not yet wholly disappeared, and that marriages between the villages of some of the districts occur somewhat less frequently than between villages of different districts.

That the districts were at one time of much greater importance than at present

is shown by a study of the funeral and other ceremonies. In the funeral ceremonies there are certain rites the performance of which is confined to certain districts, the *wezwez keber* to Kòmet, etc., the *Tur siriam keber* to Samsep, etc. (cf. p. 129). In the *dogaira wetpur*, again, annual ceremonies connected with the food supply, a ceremony is still performed for each district of the south-east side of the island from Zagareb to Mergarem.

There can be little doubt that we have here surviving in ceremonial an old social organisation which, though still remembered, has ceased to be the effective means by which social order is preserved.

If the districts formed at one time the basis of the marriage system, it is not difficult to see how the present village system arose. The districts are few in number; calling the *Dauer le* and the *Samsep le* each one division, there would only be seven groups of the people. At the present time a man is not allowed to marry into three groups definitely, and possibly into two others if he should be an adopted child or descended from an adopted child. If therefore the marriage restrictions were as extensive at the time when by hypothesis the districts were the social units, the marriage restrictions would limit the choice of a man to four or even possibly to two of the groups.

In the case of the *Mabuiag* community it was suggested (Vol. v., p. 241) that the extensive restrictions on marriage, and the wide application of the brother-sister or "*babat*" relation, had brought the marriage system to the verge of impracticability, and it is possible that among the *Miriam* they have led to a modification of the system and to a change from district exogamy to one of village exogamy.

We should have to make the not unnatural assumption that the people of each district had grouped themselves in villages, so that among the people of each district there had grown up distinctions dependent on the village. When according to the hypothesis the marriage system became unworkable, and the question arose whether marriage within the district should be allowed, it would probably happen that inhabitants of the same village would be known to be near kin, while those of different villages might have no relationship traceable through the genealogies, and it would be natural that there should grow up the regulation that if marriage within the district took place, such a marriage must be between different villages of the district, and thus would soon come about a new system in which the place of the district would be taken by the village in the regulation of marriage.

Some light is thrown on the ambiguity of the village organisation by the fact that the *ad giz* or sacred ancestors belonged to the villages and not to the districts. Mr Bruce believes that these *ad giz* were prior to the *Bomai* cult, and if so, it would seem probable that this latter cult reached the island after the social organisation had become based on the village. There is other evidence of this, for the connection of the *omai le*, *daumer le* and *geregere le*, undoubtedly introduced with the *Bomai* cult, is also with the villages and not with the districts.

At the present time the social and marriage system of the *Miriam* is a territorial system, and if the hypothesis as to its origin is correct, it was preceded by another territorial system of a different kind. I am indebted to Dr Haddon for the following

suggestion connecting the development of a territorial system with the isolation of the people and with the high development of agriculture.

In a nomadic people or in one lightly attached to the soil some other co-ordinating factor is necessary. Thus in many parts of Australia, while a territorial grouping exists to some extent, the main socialising factor is the totemic system, and it is probable that the same occurs in Murulug and in Kiwai, in both of which islands the people are to a certain extent migratory in their habits. In the smaller western islands cultivation of the soil became imperative, and it is probable that this was the chief factor which led to greater permanence of residence, and as a consequence the totem clans exhibit a tendency to restrict themselves to definite areas, and common prudence determined that their dwellings should be in close proximity, for the purpose of mutual aid in peace and war. In this way, probably, arose the totemic segregation in Mabuiaq to which attention was drawn in Vol. v., pp. 162—170. Probably a similar distribution occurred in the other western islands, though little evidence can be adduced for it owing to the disturbances produced by the advent of the white man. In Saibai it was found (*l.c.*, p. 174) that while all the inhabitants lived in one village, the houses of the several totem-clans were grouped together.

It would seem as if this tendency had proceeded still further in Mer. The cultivation of the soil was more developed in the Murray Islands than in the west, and the greater isolation of the people rendered them much more free from attack than was the case with the Western Islanders. In consequence the population could be more scattered and there was an almost continuous line of villages along a considerable portion of the seaboard, and these villages have become the units of the social organisation, the people having probably passed through an intermediate stage in which the units were certain districts of the island.

DESCENT.

At the present time descent is very definitely in the male line, and our data provide us with no evidence of a previous condition of matrilineal descent, but it must be remembered that our material from this point of view is very scanty. It seems that even at the present day a man may go to live with his wife's family, but there is no evidence that this is due to any reason other than convenience and we know nothing of any other customs which may be associated with the practice.

It is quite clear that wherever a man may live, or wherever he may happen to be born, he belongs to the village either of his real father or of his father by adoption.

ADOPTION.

In the articles on genealogies and the regulation of marriage reference has been made to the great frequency of adoption. Its frequency is so great that many complications are introduced into the working of the social regulations, and many disputes arise in connection with property on account of the custom. Children may be adopted before they are born, and for no special reason that could be discovered. A child adopted in this way or in infancy is brought up entirely as a member of his adopted

family, and it was clear that in many cases he remained in ignorance of his real parentage till adult life or even till his death (see p. 181).

Although the fact of his real parentage may be unknown to the adopted child himself, it is not forgotten by the community at large, or at any rate by the elders of the community, and it would seem clear that steps are taken to prevent marriage or too intimate intercourse between an adopted son and his real sisters. Further, it is clear that the fact of the real parentage is remembered for several generations, and that the restriction on marriage may persist for several generations between families descended from two men of the same parentage but of different villages through the practice of adoption (see p. 120).

Mr Bruce states that an adopted child often returns to the village of his birth if he discovers his real parentage on reaching manhood, especially if this occurs after the death of his foster-parents¹. He is welcomed by his own people because he usually brings with him wealth in the form of land which he has inherited from his foster-father. A man, however, who returns to his own people before the death of his foster-father, will probably be disinherited and will have gained nothing by his period of adoption.

LAW AND GOVERNMENT.

The method of government in the olden time was probably by the elders, who followed traditional custom in coming to their decisions. According to Mr Hunt¹ there was hereditary chieftainship, the head chief and the inferior chiefs taking a leading part in the administration of justice. Owing to an oversight this was not definitely inquired into, but it is possible that Mr Hunt's account applies to the heads of the Malu fraternity, who undoubtedly at one time played an active part in the government. In connection with the Malu cult there was a disguised functionary termed Magur who was the executive officer. All breaches of discipline, acts of sacrilege, or deeds that brought an individual into disfavour with the Malu authorities, were punished by Magur. Since the position of *zogo le* was passed on from father to son, the Malu fraternity came to be a sort of hereditary government, whose authority no one would question (see account of The Bomai-Malu Cult).

When the islands were taken over by the Queensland Government a definite court of justice was set up which at the time of our visit consisted of the two mamoooses, Harry and Pasi, with Mr Bruce as assessor. Under them were five policemen—one sergeant and four constables—all natives of the island. Both criminal and civil suits were brought before this court, the latter being settled according to Miriam custom, tempered in some cases by the modifying influence of Mr Bruce. In fact, the government of the island was virtually to a large extent in the hands of Mr Bruce owing to the influence which he possessed over the natives. This influence depended not so much on any authority given to him by the Queensland Government as on the kindness and uprightness which characterised all his dealings with the natives and on the tact with which he adjusted the customs of the island to the claims of justice.

¹ For an instance see p. 181.

² *Loc. cit.*

About the time of our visit his position was peculiarly difficult owing to the setting up by the Samoan teacher, Finau, of a court in opposition to the court appointed by the Queensland Government. There existed in this little island a beautiful example of a struggle between the civil and the ecclesiastical power, the church led by Finau striving to have justice administered to its own members by a special court of self-appointed magistrates. This court consisted of about 20 men who called themselves mamoooses, and included many of the men of the island who were powerful either as sorcerers or for some other reason. Many cases of crime which should have come before the proper court were not reported by the police, probably owing to fear of sorcery, but were tried by this self-constituted court. Thus, a man who assaulted his wife by holding her down and burning her face and arms with a piece of burning wood, because she did not get him a light for his cigarette, was not reported. He was one of Finau's court, by which he was tried and sentenced to dismissal from this position. Another of the sham magistrates who reported an annoyance to the proper court was denounced on the following Sunday in church and was then dismissed from his position.

Soon after our departure, in 1898, Mr Douglas visited the island and held an inquiry into the doings of the self-constituted authority, and, after admonishing the people for their illegal behaviour in interfering with the administration of justice, he gave the island a "constitution," setting up a new body consisting of five councillors, four elected by the islanders and the fifth nominated by the Government Resident at Thursday Island. The councillors were to take no part in the administration of justice but were to act as advisers and as a consultative body to formulate new regulations for the government of the island, which would not, however, come into force till they had received the sanction and approval of the Government Resident at Thursday Island. The island was divided into four districts. The first district, which included the south-western part of the island and Dauar, was to return one member; the second district extended from Baur to Babud and was also to return one member; and the rest of the island was to return two members. The first election took place at the end of the year and was by show of hands. It created much interest and all the seats were contested. The only special incident took place in the third district, in which there was a tie between Alo (18 B) and Papi (17 A); Alo then voted for Papi, and, as Papi refused to record his vote, he was declared elected.

Mr Bruce tells us that the new body has worked well and is likely to continue to do so if the people do not lose their interest as the novelty wears off. The most important event in connection with the new body has been the dismissal of one of their number, Papi, by Mr Douglas. Papi was accused of various offences, including an act of indecency towards his daughter-in-law, and was tried in court. He was fined 30s. or three weeks, and the question of his position as a councillor was then considered. The other councillors wished to be rid of Papi and to elect a new councillor on the following day, and a deputation from Papi's electorate made the same request, their spokesman, Barsa, letting the cat out of the bag by the announcement that he was to be Papi's successor. Mr Bruce had little doubt that the most had been made of the charge against Papi, not owing to any ill-will towards him, but because the people

saw a chance of the excitement of a new election. He was obliged to damp their ardour by telling them that a councillor could only be dismissed by Mr Douglas, and Papi remained in office till Mr Douglas' next visit to the island, when it was decided that his services could be dispensed with and a bye-election was held at which Barsa was returned without opposition. Mr Bruce remarks that if the people had the right of dismissing their councillors there would be continual trumped-up charges of a trivial kind in order to get the coveted places.

CRIME.

The court in Murray Island is frequently occupied in hearing cases of a criminal nature. One of the commonest offences is wife-beating, and several cases of this nature were heard during our visit. Other offences which are dealt with by the court are cases of assault, disturbance of the peace, slander, rape.

The natives are often anxious to bring instances of adultery or fornication before the court to be dealt with as criminal offences, and in such cases Mr Bruce was obliged to decide that they were not so according to Queensland law. It is possible that it was the failure of the court to deal with such offences which acted as one of the motives to lead Finau to set up his opposition court, for this court dealt with these cases.

The two chief penalties are fines and labour on the road which runs round the island. There is no prison, and when a man is sentenced to labour on the road he continues to live in his own home. A man accused of any very severe offence is sent to Thursday Island, and the chief deterrent to those who repeatedly assault their wives is the fear of being sent to this island for trial and punishment.

CIVIL SUITS.

The court is frequently occupied with suits in connection with questions of property and inheritance. The following examples, which I owe to Mr Bruce, are interesting as illustrations of the working of some of the social regulations considered in this article.

One of the most interesting is the suit Tanu *v.* Kaini, which illustrates various points connected with the practice of adoption. In this suit Tanu (18) claimed to be the owner of a piece of land called Maip which had been occupied by Kaini, the widow of Olmek (4 D). In order to show his right to the land Tanu had prevented Kaini from taking fruit from an *ero* tree on the land. The case was taken into court and the following evidence was given by the parties and their witnesses.

Tanu said that he was the son of Wasalgi and that the land had belonged to Nau, the elder brother of Wasalgi. When Nau died, the land should have belonged to Wasalgi, but he did not take possession nor make any claim to it so far as he knew. Wasalgi had never worked the land nor taken fruit from it. He knew that Olmek or Meiti had been the adopted son of Nau and that Nau had no true son of his own, therefore he thought the land belonged to himself, Olmek not being Nau's true son and heir. On being asked why he had not claimed the land before or taken food from it, he said that he thought it would make no difference when he took the land, as it belonged to him and had belonged to his forefathers before him.

Kaini gave evidence that when she married Olmek, Nau gave the land to Olmek and showed him all its boundaries, telling Olmek that it was his for ever and ever. Olmek worked and planted the land till he died and no one had ever objected to his holding it. Since the death of Olmek, she, Kaini, had worked the land with the assistance of her children, and no one had objected to her taking food or fruit from the land till now. She knew that Olmek was not the real son of Nau but had been adopted by him. He was the same as a son and had always believed that Nau was his real father, and had inherited all the possessions of Nau when Nau died.

Joe Brown (18 c) gave evidence on behalf of Tanu. He said that Olmek was the adopted son of Nau, but thought that Tanu was the rightful owner of Maip, because his father was the brother of Nau, so that he was descended from the real owners of the land. The witness then explained fully the genealogy of Tanu's family, which agreed with that recorded in Table 18. Olmek was born immediately after the marriage of Nau to Kuni, and was at once adopted by Nau and taken to Er. Nau had one son and one daughter of his own but Olmek was the eldest (*narbet*). Nau's own son, Obau, died when a few years old. The daughter Dadi married Tapau and was now dead. Dadi was given her own share of the land when she married, and when Nau died Olmek inherited all the remaining land and other property of Nau. The witness confirmed the previous evidence that Wasalgi had never worked the land at Maip nor taken fruit from it.

Ala (18 B), who gave evidence on behalf of Kaini, corroborated all the facts of the previous witness but was of opinion that the land belonged to Olmek after the death of Nau because he was exactly the same as a son, having been taken away from Sebeg immediately after his birth. Olmek had always cleared and planted the land at Maip, and after his death Kaini had done the same.

Enoka (18 A), another witness for Kaini, gave similar evidence. He stated that Wasalgi had never wished to take the land from Olmek. Wasalgi had called Olmek *werem* and Olmek had called Wasalgi *kebi baba* or little father.

This closed the evidence, and the two mamoooses gave judgment that Tanu had no title to the land; that Olmek was heir to Nau both in land and goods, as if he had been Nau's own son; that Nau could give the land to whomsoever he chose; that Nau gave the land to Olmek, and that it was now the property of Kaini and her children.

Although it does not appear to have been mentioned in the evidence in this case, there had been unusual features in the course of the relations between Olmek and his adoptive family. Olmek grew to manhood in the belief that Nau was his real father. After the death of Nau, Olmek one day quarrelled with a Dauar man, and in the course of the quarrel the Dauar man taunted Olmek with being only an adopted son (*gobar werem*). Olmek then made inquiries, and when he found the taunt to be just, he was so angered that he burnt down his house at Er and removed with his wife and family to Sebeg to live among his own people.

Wasalgi went to him at Sebeg and prevailed on him to return to Er, telling him that he was just the same as the true son of Nau and himself. Olmek consented to return and lived at Er for several years, when he was persuaded by the missionaries to live at Sebeg because it was nearer the church, and since his death his family have continued to live at Sebeg, but they have never given up the land received from Nau, for it is all they have, the land of Natiri (4 D), the real father of Olmek, having been inherited by Irabai and Nobo. Mr Bruce states that he was surprised that Tanu did not put forward the plea that Olmek and his family

had deserted their place of adoption, but at the present time it seems to be so common for a man of one village to live at some other village that it is probable the plea would not have been of much avail.

A very similar dispute arose about the same time which was settled out of court owing to the friendly intervention of Mr Bruce.

The starting point of this case was the adoption of Gibaz (26) in infancy by Kepenei of Mek (10A). Kepenei had two daughters but no son of his own, and when he died all his land and goods were inherited by Gibaz, who was recognised as heir by all the relatives of Kepenei. Gibaz married Anai and, after having three children, died shortly before our visit. Not long after his death the land was claimed by Madsa (8A) at the instigation of Harry, the old mamoose.

Madsa was the grandson of Kepenei's sister (probably not an own sister but a daughter of one of Gaidan's brothers). Madsa had been, however, adopted by Sisa (4c) and at Sisa's death had succeeded to his land and goods, having received nothing from his own father, Kopam, who had left all his land to his two daughters. Madsa was related to Harry, the mamoose, who, in spite of the judgment he had recently given in the case of Tanu *v.* Kaini, told Anai that her lands properly belonged to Madsa, Gibaz having had no right to them. The Kòmet *le* twitted Anai's children with being Dauar people (which they were by real descent though not by adoptive descent) and with having no land on Mer. Matters were made so uncomfortable for the widow that she went to her husband's own brother, Jimmy Rice, and Debe Wali, his *le* (first cousin) asking to be taken under their protection. These men went to Mr Bruce for advice, being prepared to take over the responsibility of providing for the children, as they did not like to contest the case against the mamoose. After making full inquiries into the case Mr Bruce found that it corresponded exactly with the case of Olmek. He sent for the mamoose and pointed out to him that the land could not be taken away from Anai unless he could show that Madsa had a more just right to it. Harry then explained the relationship of Madsa to Kepenei, claiming that it made him the heir to the land. Mr Bruce, however, was able to point out that there were others more nearly related to Kepenei who made no claim and this was admitted by the mamoose, who promised that Anai and her children should no longer be molested. If it had not been for Mr Bruce's influence there is no doubt that Anai would have lost the land, to which she had an undoubted right by Miriam custom.

Another case, that of Aba *v.* Papi, is interesting in relation to the guardianship of the children of a widow. Aba was the widow of Ununi (17A), the younger brother of Papi. Ununi was a teacher of the London Missionary Society in New Guinea, where he died. After his death Aba obtained a passage for herself and her children as far as Darnley Island and was fetched from there by Papi with whom she lived for some time at his village of Er. She got on very badly, however, with Wagai, Papi's wife, and in consequence left Er to live with Gadodo (14), to whom she was related (Gadodo's mother had belonged to Bòged, Aba's own village). She left her children with Papi. A few days after our arrival in Mer, Aba was married to Dick Tui (13A), a man much younger than herself, and went to live with him at the village of Mas, where at this time Papi also happened to be living. The two women were now near one another again and troubles arose, but more acutely this time owing to Aba's wish that, now that she was married, her children should leave Papi and live with her. She also wished to regain possession of certain goods she had left with Papi. The quarrelling became so severe that the police had to interfere and Wagai was summoned for disturbing the peace.

Wagai accused Aba of having had an illegitimate child before her marriage with Dick and of having run about after men like a dog, and Aba brought a counter charge against Wagai of having had a child by a man other than Papi. Wagai was found guilty of having created a disturbance in the village of Mas and was fined five shillings.

Aba then brought a civil suit against Papi for the custody of her children and for the recovery of certain goods in the possession of Papi. In her evidence Aba stated that when she came to Mer, she lived with Papi for some time, and when she went to live with Gadodo she left the following articles with Papi: two camphor-wood boxes, one tin basin, one clock, one pillow, two saucepans, two knives and forks, one smoothing iron, one blanket, one bucket, two spoons, three baskets, one plate, one grindstone, three mats, three woman's and two girl's calicoes. She said that she had left the things in Papi's care as she had no house of her own; that she had never given them to Papi or to anyone else, but had given to Zai, Papi's daughter-in-law, the use of the smoothing iron till Maima, her eldest daughter, was grown up. She claimed a garden named Werge which she had planted herself. Papi would not give her possession of this land and would not allow her to go to it nor take food from it. Both she and her husband wished the three children to live with them.

Papi, after giving an account of the events already recorded, said that when Aba left his place she gave him some of her things as a present to him for ever, taking others with her to Gadodo and left others in Papi's care. When Doboro, Papi's son, married, Aba gave as a present to Doboro the things that had been left in Papi's care. In the presence of Alo, Aba told Doboro and Zai that she wanted to give them all the things of her's in Papi's house and that they were to keep them for ever. Doboro lived with the witness, but if he had gone to live at a house of his own, he would have taken the articles with him.

Papi also claimed the goods as payment for bringing Aba and her children from Darnley Island. He acknowledged that the garden at Werge had been planted by Aba, but as Aba was now married to Dick, who had plenty of land of his own, he did not think she required it. He acknowledged that the eldest daughter of Aba, Maima, would be entitled to the garden when she grew up but thought that she was now too young to look after it. He said that the children wanted to live with him, and that he was their father now that Ununi was dead. He acknowledged that Dick and Aba were able to look after the children properly, but claimed that as elder brother of the father he was entitled to their custody.

Aba was then re-examined and denied having given the things to Doboro and Zai. She did not object to Papi's keeping the grindstone. She had intended to give the clock to Papi but had never actually done so.

Alo then gave evidence. He remembered that when Doboro and Zai were married, he heard Aba tell Papi, Doboro and Zai that she wanted them to take the things left in Papi's house as a present from her. She did not speak of the boxes but mentioned all the other things.

Doboro gave evidence that when he was married Aba told him that she wanted to make him a present of all her things and that he was to keep them for ever and ever, as she would never want them again.

Zai gave evidence to the same effect.

Tom corroborated Alo but thought that Aba had given the boxes as well as the other things.

Aba was not able to produce any witnesses in support of her statements.

The mamoooses then decided that Aba had not given the things to Papi; that all the

witnesses for Papi were of one family and were helping Papi to keep the things in the family. They decided that Papi might keep the grindstone and the clock as Aba was willing he should have them; also that Zai should have the use of the smoothing iron till Maima was grown up.

They decided that the garden at Werge belonged to Aba and to her children after her and that Aba was quite competent to look after it. Aba was entitled to the care of her children. Papi was not to claim them, but if the children wished to live occasionally with Papi, and Aba had no objection, they were at liberty to go to him.

Mr Bruce believed at the time that this decision was just. Neither of the mamoooses were in any way interested in the case, and from what Mr Bruce heard later he was convinced that justice had been done.

XI. TRADE.

By A. C. HADDON.

So far as the general aspects of trade are concerned there is little to add to what was said about the trade of the Western Islanders in Vol. v. p. 293. Owing to their more remote situation, the Miriam were practically debarred from intercourse with Australia and the inter-insular trade probably did not amount to very much, but, judging from the specimens obtained in the island, there must have been at various times a fair trade with New Guinea, and for this commerce there were two trade-routes. The one of greater importance was the route for the purchase of canoes, which passed through Erub, Parama, and Mibu to Kiwai island. The second route passed through Erub, Uga, Damut, Tutu, and Ero (Daru?), to Mawata or occasionally to Tureture. There was very occasional intercourse with certain Western Islands through the intermediate small islands.

The highest unit of value as among the Western Islanders is the canoe: its equivalent value is a *wauri* or two or three strings of *waraz*. I did not hear that a wife was equated to a canoe.

The exports consisted of shell ornaments, such as arm-rings, *wauri*, and disc-pendants, *dibidibi*, both of which were made from the cone shell (*Conus litteratis*, var. *millepunctatus*), or the unworked shell itself, *wauri*; a necklace made of olive shells, *waraz*; nose-sticks, *kirkub*, made from various shells; crescentic chest ornaments, *mai*, made from the pearl oyster; and other less valuable shell ornaments. Turtle-shell ("tortoise-shell"), *kaisu*, and food, but the latter was probably more of the nature of a present than of trade.

The chief imports were ornaments made of cassowary feathers, *sam* (such as head-dresses, *sam*, *wer sam*; long plumes, *tag lu*, for the arm-guard, *kadik*; and large plumes, *kolber kolber*, worn in the belt behind); head-dresses of bird-of-paradise feathers, *degem*; dogs' teeth necklaces, *omai tereg*; boars' tusks (natural, *gir*, and artificially deformed, *sauad*); fringes, *bisi wam*, and petticoats, *bisi nesur*, made from the shredded leaves of the sago palm, sago, *bisi*; mats made of strips of pandanus leaves fastened together, but not plaited, *ka moder*; canoes, *nar*; probably most of the drums, *warup* and *boroboro*; stone-headed clubs, *gabagaba*; and bows and arrows, *sarik*. The sago was bought at Parama, but if there was none to be obtained there they had to go on to Kiwai for it.

CANOE TRAFFIC.

According to Mr Bruce, the Kòmet *le* were the traders in canoes for the other Miriam *le*, and when a new canoe was wanted the traders first went to Erub, where they might merely give the order and hand over purchase gifts, and return home; or they might proceed on their journey, possibly accompanied by some Erub *le*. From Erub they went to Parem (Parama, or Bampton Island), thence to Mibu, and finally to some village on Kiwai. I believe Murray Islanders rarely made the whole journey, but sent on the payment to be transmitted by known intermediaries, *eipu le*; but, certainly, occasional reciprocal visits were paid between Mer and Kiwai.

The method of purchasing a canoe is much as follows: The man who wants a canoe informs the Kòmet *le* and gives them a fine armlet, *wauri*, cut out of a large cone shell. This is the recognised price of a canoe. In due course the voyage is made and numerous presents of shell ornaments and food are added to the prime cost by the friends of the purchaser, who enlists their aid: these are for the remuneration of the various middle-men. Eventually the canoe is purchased for the *wauri*, but additional presents are added to the original payment by the several intermediaries as it is conveyed to its destination. The canoe follows the same route as the shell armlet, but the Kòmet *le*, and also the Erub *le*, if they assist, may keep the canoe for one year; the usufruct being their commission on the undertaking.

During the year following the purchase, the canoe-vendor, *amarik le*, in Kiwai cuts a bamboo pole about 3·6 m. (12 feet) in length, to which he affixes the presents he wishes to send. These are principally *kab lu*, or dance things, such as feathers of the cassowary, plumes of the bird-of-paradise, dogs' teeth necklaces, boars' tusks, fringes and petticoats made from leaves of the sago palm, mats, bows and arrows, or other objects. He sends the *seker lu*, as it is termed (*seker* means any erect, long, slender object, and here it probably refers to the bamboo pole), to the Mibu or Parem intermediary, who fastens on his presents, and so it passes from island to island into the hands of those intermediaries through whom the *wauri* went and the canoe returned. As the *seker lu* comes along, so it is added to, each forwarder vying with the others as to the amount he adds. At the present time calico is mostly given. Eventually the *seker lu* arrives at the canoe purchaser, *giz le* (original man), and when it is given to him, the Kòmet *le* takes a piece of cord, each man holds one end of it, and the Kòmet *le* cuts it saying, "That is finished." Indeed the cutting of a cord, which is symbolic of severing the lien, is performed between all the intermediaries. The *giz le* or *seker le* gives a present of food to the Kòmet *le*.

This is a really remarkable method of trading, and differs materially from that described in Vol. v. pp. 296, 297; but in both systems there is exhibited the same high standard of commercial honesty. An anomalous feature in this transaction is the giving of "presents" by the intermediaries which are associated with the outward bound *wauri* on the one hand and with the homeward bound *seker lu* on the other. The canoe-vendor also gives "presents," but it does not appear that the canoe-purchaser does so. There

seems to be a great tendency on the part of the natives to give "presents," but always with the expectation of receiving at least an equivalent in exchange. The middle-men can have no object in giving gratuitous presents to the *amarik le* in Kiwai or to the *giz le* in Mer. I am therefore of opinion that advantage is taken of the transport of the *wauri* and *seker lu* by the intermediaries, in order to do a little friendly exchange on their own account. Probably a mental record is kept of the source and destination of every object, and doubtless in the long run everyone is more or less satisfied.

BARTER WITH FOREIGNERS.

Foreign sailing vessels passing from the Pacific enter Torres Straits through Flinders Entrance, and thus come within a short distance of the Murray Islands. Wemyss says¹: "When they observe a vessel approaching their coast, immense numbers of the natives are seen running along the shore, some of them wading out to a considerable distance and shouting '*wareka, wareka*,' which signifies *welcome* [perhaps they said *warem ike*, 'wait-a-bit here']; '*mabouse*,' which means 'come to us' [*ma baos*, 'you come out,' cf. S. H. Ray III. p. 2], with great vociferation, holding out bows and arrows, clubs, tortoise-shell, cocoa-nuts, plantains, etc., calling at the same time, '*torre, torre*,' meaning iron [*tulik*, iron; *turik* is now the Western pronunciation]. If the ship should stop, an active barter soon commences; at first the natives will not permit their commodities to go out of their hands, till they have possession of what they consider an equivalent, but if articles be given them to inspect without hesitation, they soon lay aside their distrust. This caution on their part shows that they must have been *cheated in former dealings with Europeans*. Old knives, and old iron hoops straightened, are exchanged to great advantage. When they see muskets or other deadly instruments, they try to propitiate them, using the word *puta, puta* [*paud*, peace] in a conciliatory tone, as much as to say, 'don't be afraid,' or the like, at the same time placing green leaves between the flints and the pans" (p. 23)².

Eight years later the *Fly* visited Mer; Jukes writes³: "As soon as we had anchored, several canoes put off, but hesitated to come alongside till we shouted to them words of friendship and invitation, in the Erroob language, which is likewise theirs. At this they seemed highly delighted, and immediately came on board in great numbers, bringing tortoise-shell, bows and arrows, ketai, and cocoa-nuts to barter for knives and axes." (pl. XXVI. fig. 2.)

The experience of other voyagers was the same. The natives were ready to make friends and were eager for trade. Knives, axes and hoop- and plane-iron were the objects most in demand. Forty years ago *bêche-de-mer* fishers began to frequent the Eastern Islands. Usually their relations were friendly with the natives, but there were lawless men amongst them, who gave rise to much trouble (cf. p. 190). By these means

¹ Thomas Wemyss, *Narrative of the Melancholy Shipwreck of the Ship "Charles Eaton," etc.*, London, 1837.

² This account is practically verbatim with that published by Dr T. B. Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage around the World, etc.*, London, 1835.

³ J. Beete Jukes, *Narrative, etc. H.M.S. Fly*, London, 1847, I. p. 196.

European articles were finding their way to these islands. The first South-Sea teacher was landed on Erub on July 3, 1871, and the first teacher to Mer arrived in 1872. Since then these islands have been in continuous touch with Europeans, and European fabrics, clothes and utensils soon became prevalent.

There is a social custom termed *tama* (described in Vol. iv.), which consists in the exchange generally of food, but also of other objects. After the preliminary ceremony of exchange, which is accompanied with much merriment, a sort of auction or mart takes place; sometimes a great deal of buying and selling occurs, and in the general excitement good prices are often realised. As in most other of their recreations the natives overdo *tama*, and rivalry in buying food results in the paralysis of the ordinary routine of daily work.

XII. QUARRELS AND WARFARE.

By A. C. HADDON.

THE Rev. A. S. Hunt says: "The Murray Islanders were noted for their fighting propensities, and frequent raids were made by them on the neighbouring islands and on the mainland of New Guinea, in the Fly River district. Their principal weapons were clubs, spears, and bows and arrows, most of which were procured from the Fly River natives. The skulls of their slain enemies were preserved as a proof of their success. All adult males went to war. Charms were worn for protection, and the aid of the diviner was frequently called in to prophesy as to the prospect of success" (loc. cit. p. 12).

Certainly the Miriam are fond of boasting of their bravery and prowess, but there is little evidence that they were to be compared in the latter respect with the Western Islanders. It is true they had a bad reputation, and in the old sailing directions to mariners, a warning was given of the ferocity of the Murray Islanders. Shipwrecked crews frequently suffered at the hands of Torres Straits Islanders, but I cannot recall any mention of this happening at the Murray Islands. Indeed, Dr Wilson writes¹: "I have heard of several shipwrecked people who, since our visit (? 1822), have been treated by them with great kindness and hospitality" (p. 313). Wemyss says²: "The inhabitants of Murray's Island have the character of being very treacherous, daring, and deceitful. Horsburg in his Directory cautions voyagers to be on their guard in their intercourse with the natives of the numerous islands in Torres Straits, particularly with those of Murray's Island. Like all other Savages, they are prone to thieving, but otherwise not evil disposed" (p. 21). "Captain Lewis³ says he found the people of Murray's Island very friendly and kind" (p. 30), and "was on the most friendly terms with the natives of the island during the whole of his stay" (p. 33).

Forty years ago J. Jardine wrote, "The natives in the islands more to the northward and eastward [of Moa and Badu] are said to be of milder dispositions, especially the Darnley Islanders, of whom Capt. Edwards, of Sydney, who had a bêche-de-mer fishing establishment there during the last year, speaks in high terms as being of friendly dispositions and displaying very considerable intelligence⁴."

Personally I very much doubt whether the Miriam made "frequent raids" on the mainland of New Guinea; what I have stated about their trade with New Guinea is

¹ T. B. Wilson, *Narrative of a Voyage around the World, etc.*, London, 1835.

² Thomas Wemyss, *Narrative of the Melancholy Shipwreck of the Ship "Charles Eaton," etc.*, London, 1837.

³ Mr Lewis was in command of the *Isabella* in the search for the survivors of the *Charles Eaton*. Cf. *Nautical Magazine*, 1835.

⁴ John Jardine, *Journ. Roy. Geogr. Soc.* 1866, p. 84.

contrary to this. We did not obtain any account of fights between the Miriam and other places. There is no doubt that their vain-glorious excitable temperament led to frequent squabbles, but they expended most of their energy in words. Occasionally the quarrels led to more serious results, as in the instances that follow. The same characteristic now exhibits itself in the frequency with which they summon one another before the Mamoose in the court house (cf. p. 180).

QUARRELS AMONGST THEMSELVES.

One night the Sebeg *le* serenaded the villages between Sebeg and Kop with the old custom of *rob wed*. They arrived at Kop about midnight, and when they began their song Smoke (Aio), one of Kebei's sons (9 A Babud), objected to their singing and wanted them to go away. There had been a previous quarrel between Sebeg and some of the Kop folk, and it had not been settled—hence Smoke's objection.

Kamai's (9 Babud) mother was a Sebeg woman [according to the genealogies she (Koki) was a Zaub woman, at any rate she was a Kòmet *le*] and for her sake he took the part of the Sebeg *le*, and wanted them to go on with their singing. Smoke, who was a very quarrelsome fellow, and well known to Mr Bruce, would not allow them, and the Meaurem *le* began to take sides, some for and some against the Sebeg *le*. Smoke and Kamai were on the point of fighting, when Kebei, the father of Smoke, went to his son's assistance. Kamai lifted a large piece of hard wood out of the fire and struck Kebei on the head with it. Kebei dropped dead instantly, without making a move or a tremor; he was then about 45 years of age. Kebei and Salgar, father of Kamai, were both Babud *le*, but they then lived at Kop. (From an account sent to me by Mr Bruce.)

A very long time ago, so Kaige informed me, two brothers named Boa and Kaidam (? 3 Keweid) climbed a coco-nut tree belonging to a man named Laui; when Laui heard the nuts falling on to the ground he took a club, *tut*, and killed the elder brother when he came down and did the same to the younger brother when he came down, and laid them by the roots of the coco-nut tree. Laui took the coco-nuts and went home. When the bodies began to have an offensive odour they were discovered by some men who thought the two brothers had fallen down from the tree and Laui did not say anything about what he had done, but he made two marks on the *tut* as a memorial of the two men.

QUARRELS WITH FOREIGNERS.

When Pasi was a small boy, about 35 years ago, Captain Bruce brought a three-masted vessel named *Woodlark* to Mer to fish for *bêche-de-mer*. The natives made a rough model of a ship in the sand beach at Wao and stuck three sticks in it for masts, and since then that place has been called Ulag ("Woodlark"). She was manned by a South Sea crew, some of whom came from Tanna, Api, Eromanga, and Faté (Sandwich), all of which are in the New Hebrides. The crew made a station at Umar and one at Dauar where they stayed for two years. Every night they tried to get girls, once they went to Werbadu, but there were no girls left, they had all gone into the bush. On one occasion they went to Er and caught a girl named Koket and took her to Dauar. Often they got several girls. "Heart belong people he hot, he wild."

One day some Miriam men went in a canoe to Dauar to buy some things from the South Sea men and they overheard them say they would cross over again that night. So

the Mer men came back as fast as they could. The South Sea men came in two boats and anchored off Gigo, one man was left in each boat while the others went along the sand beach to hunt for girls.

Some men from Coco-nut Island had come to Mer for food and were stopping at Las; they yarned and said, "I think we kill them this night." When the South Sea men came to Mei they were met by the natives, who were armed with bows and arrows. Jack Maori, who had a tattooed (*moko*) face, had a pistol and he killed Mao; Jack ran to Terker and there followed him an old man named Namu (27 A), his brother-in-law, Kalki (16 B), Sinono (20 A), and Saibor (? Sarpor, 16) who took a spear (*bager*, it was a broken *wap* with a sharpened end) and thrust it through Jack's body from the back and hit him on the head with a *gabagaba* and he was "dead outright." They cut off his head.

Next day Captain Bruce came with the South Sea men and brought Koket to find out the place where Jack Maori was killed. Koket called out to the men, who had fled to the hill of Gelam, to ask where Jack Maori was killed. They replied that it was on the other side of the island. The South Sea men landed at Serwaged and went westwards along the shore, burning houses and canoes. First they killed an old woman named Laagot. They met an old man at Keweid named Gariab or Komaberi (3) who took a *sem* leaf and cried out "*Paud, paud, paud* (Peace, peace, peace), it was not my fault, it was the fault of the young men." They shot him in the knee and he fell down, then they slashed his shoulder and he died. They found a man at Mei, whom they cut into small pieces, and when they burnt a house his remains were scorched.

When they reached Terker they found Jack Maori's body and dis severed head, these they buried at Giar pit on Dauar; but since then a high tide has washed them away.

The next morning the South Sea men saw one old man named Baksu on Gelam, they caught him and cut him, the old man fell down half-dead, and when he tried to rise they killed him right off. Next they killed Gobar, a boy about ten years of age, the son of Gibi (1 B), and hacked Kali, sister of Tek (1), and an old woman named Bidam, Baksu's sister (1 B). They went down the valley between Gelam and Zaumo and killed Irabai's wife, Kawer, and their little girl, Gasi (4 D). They followed the slope of Gelam and killed a young man named Sauri, the brother of Kalki or Imari, and looked at Adigor (1 C) who pretended to be dead, but they cut the mouth of her baby boy Newar, and took a piece of iron and hit Adigor on the head, who called out for her husband Kaimai (3); he ran after the South Sea men with a knife but was killed and cut all to pieces, "a good man too." Then they killed an old woman named Gobagi (3).

The following morning a canoe came from Damut for food. Captain Bruce sent a boat to enquire whence they came. They did not reply, but seized their bows and arrows. The boat went alongside of the canoe, and the South Sea men said, "You give me a girl." "No, we can't," replied the others. The South Sea men were "wild," and caught hold of a girl named Sep and pulled her into the boat, they also secured a boy Sapokar, and shot the men in the canoe, who fell into the water; how many there were was never known. The South Sea men set fire to the canoe, and went back to Dauar.

This happened during the first season; in the second year they returned the two Damut people, and then they made friends.

This narrative was told to me by Pasi, and it seems to show that, although they were great braggarts, the natives were unskilled in fighting, probably owing to lack of practice on account of their isolation.

XIII. MAGIC¹.

By A. C. HADDON.

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Magical practices are now generally classed under sympathetic magic (which comprises contagious and homœopathic magic), the magical power of names and words, talismans and amulets, and divination. The above enumeration will afford some idea of the more common forms of magic practised by the Miriam; but it must be borne in mind that there must have been many other magical practices of which we have no record.

¹ A great deal of the information here presented concerning the magical practices of the Miriam was obtained from Mr Bruce, and acknowledgment is made where this is entirely the case.

Also it is not always easy to draw the line between practices which are purely "magical" and those which are "religious." Ethnologists usually employ the former term for those actions, or for the employment of objects, which are supposed to produce the required result automatically; the efficacy being essentially intrinsic to the action or object. Whereas the term "religious" is now often employed for those actions which depend for their efficacy upon appeal to, or reliance upon, some extra-human influence of a more or less personal nature, which operates through a ceremony or object, the efficacy in this case being extrinsic to the action or object.

Rain-making is essentially homœopathic, but it is enforced by the magical power of words, though the presence of and appeal to the *doiom* suggests an extrinsic element. The raising of a wind from the south-east appears to be solely intrinsic.

Of the ceremonies to ensure good crops the *enau zogo* and certain yam stones are homœopathic, the remainder are similarly intrinsic, with the possible exception of the *Dogaira wetpur* which is probably extrinsic.

The essential feature of the turtle ceremony in Mer was homœopathic, while that of Waipem of Waier was extrinsic. The dugong and fish charms and the *lag zogo* were homœopathic. The Sorkar, *zab zogo* and *sirar-sirar zogo* appear to have been simply intrinsic magic, but there is no evidence that they were either contagious or homœopathic. The rat charm (*mokeis*) which destroyed gardens and the snake charm (*tabu*) which ate the rats were both homœopathic.

Love charms were homœopathic, combined with the power of words and suggestion.

Most of the practices of *maid*, or malevolent magic against persons, were founded on suggestion, but homœopathic magic was often introduced as in *isau mani* and *madub*.

Many of the carved or natural stones used for magical purposes were termed *zole*, this being a general term, or *au nei*; and of this group the *bager* formed a part, thus the term *bager* was a *kebi nei*, or special name. The term *wiwar* appears to have been an *au nei* more particularly, and perhaps entirely, for those stones which were used in malevolent magic, *maid*, but *wiwar* were also described as *zole*. Pasi said that when a *wiwar* was carved to represent a human face it was *maidem* ("for *maid*"), and one informant said that *maidem* was an *au nei*, of which *doiom* was a *kebi nei*, but perhaps this referred to the nefarious use to which these rain charms could be put. *Madub* was stated to be an *au nei*, probably of figures of human beings (cf. Vol. v. p. 345), of which *sukop madub* and, probably, *neur madub* were *kebi nei*. *Omabar* was the *au nei* of which *birobiro* was a *kebi nei*, and I was informed that *omabar* was also an *au nei* for a *neur madub*.

Some magical objects could be employed for more than one purpose, thus a *doiom*, which is essentially a rain charm, could also be used for malevolent magic (pp. 201, 234). The *nam zogo* which primarily was for the purpose of securing success in catching turtle could be employed to prevent turtle from being caught; also it could be utilised to injure people, or to cure the same (pp. 51, 213). The *sirar-sirar zogo* could ensure or inhibit success in collecting terns' eggs (p. 219). The *wiwar* also could cure those they had injured (p. 233).

Talismans and amulets do not appear to be worn as such. Various ornaments, such as the crescentic, pearl-shell chest-pendant and the deformed boar's tusk of the Bomai-Malu ceremonies may have had a magical import at one time, but we did not discover anything to lead us to regard them as having any special significance at the present day.

As divination is mainly extrinsic, it will be dealt with under Religion.

MAGICAL PRACTICES TO CONTROL THE ELEMENTS.

Rain-making.

Rain-making was collective or individual, but invariably it was performed by the aid of a stone image, *doiom*, rudely carved to represent a man. Plates IX. and XI. give a good idea of the general appearance of these images. The head was sometimes moderately well carved, the arms were usually indicated, but beyond these there was little or no carving, the legs were not shown nor was there anything to indicate the sex of the human figure, though, as a matter of fact, every *doiom* was a male. I was informed that *doiom* was a *kebi nei* and that *maidem* ("for maid") was the *au nei* (cf. p. 193), but I do not think that rain-making was regarded as a department of *maid* (p. 234). In all cases a neck is carved or indicated by a groove, which was probably to enable a string to be fastened securely round the neck by means of which the *doiom* could be suspended; several of the specimens still retain the casual loop by which they were carried when brought to me.

Description of various doiom.

Pl. VIII. fig. 1. "*Dugena*," Gasu's *doiom* (p. 195), very old and worn, features undiscernable, arms flexed nearly meeting on chest, blackened all over, a bull-roarer and two *gôa* nuts in front of neck and petticoats as described on p. 196; 225 mm.; lava.

Pl. IX. fig. 1. Rudely carved, worn specimen, face and arms merely indicated; height, 244 mm.; volcanic ash. Fig. 2. Boldly carved, arms continuous across chest, nautilus nacre in eyes and mouth, face and eyes outlined with *Abrus* seeds set in beeswax, beeswax nose with two seeds in nostrils, similar seeds on navel, face and arms painted white; 35 cm.; lava. Fig. 3. A fairly well carved specimen, the figure does not do justice to the face; this is the only example known to me in which there is complete undercutting between the hands and beneath the chin; 225 mm.; ash. Fig. 4. Old worn specimen, features almost indistinguishable, arms flexed. There is a double Y-shaped groove down the narrow back, beginning at the shoulders; 33 cm.; black vesicular lava. Fig. 5. In addition to the white bands there are red bands across the forehead, and round the eyes and arms; 225 mm.; ash.

Pl. XI. fig. 1. Recently made specimen, elongated, cylindrical stone with blunt ends and the two sides slightly ground down, upper end rudely incised to represent a face, the two triangular grooves below indicate the flexed arms; it was suspended by a loop of vegetable fibre with three depending *gôa* seeds; 187 mm.; volcanic ash. Fig. 2. Rudely carved, armless figure, an interrupted white band round the head, nose and mouth white, continuous red band across eyebrows, eyes and neck red; 257 mm.; vesicular lava. Fig. 3. "*Serpaker*," Enoka's *doiom* (p. 195), very old and worn, features undiscernable, arms barely indicated, hanging from the front of the neck are two bull-roarers blackened on one side and whitened on the other, 103 and 107 mm. long respectively, six *gôa* nuts and one white cowry, a girdle of stems surrounds the waist (p. 196); 49 cm.; lava. Fig. 4. Features prominently carved, hair indicated with relief, shoulder blades carved on back, a whitened circular depression at vertex margined in red, a white, blue and red band round the hair, a white, red and blue band round the face, eyes and nostrils blue with a red border, nose white with a blue line on each side, mouth red, arms red with white line above and blue below, navel blue with red border followed by a circle of white spots and a red and a blue circle; 25 cm.; lava. Fig. 5. This is the only *doiom* in which teeth (15 in number) are shown, a white line outlines nostrils, passes up the nose, divaricates as eyebrows and passes round the free margin of each ear, this is also the

only specimen in which the nipples are indicated, they are encircled with white as is the navel, from the latter a vertical white line extends to just below the hands, general surface reddened; 245 mm.; lava. Fig. 6. A remarkable, pot-bellied, well carved specimen, with large five-fingered hands on chest, prominent clavicles and navel, this specimen is unique in having a broad groove down the back, which in the lower part of the back is tunnelled so as to leave a bridge of stone, by this means the *doiom* can be inserted on a stick stuck in the ground, the hole was bored from above and from below, the two not being quite in a straight line, the central lumen is very small, the front and sides of the body are white, the face and margin of navel are yellow, the eyes, eyebrows, nose, mouth, lower margin of face, neck, lower margin of clavicles, spaces between the fingers, centre of navel and back are red, top of head and arms black; 207 mm.; lava. Fig. 7. A curved, slightly twisted flattish stone with delicately carved face; 285 mm.; fine grained volcanic ash. There are one or two other specimens in the collection which need not be described, these objects occur in many museums but those here figured may be regarded as quite typical. With the exception of figs. 3 and 5 on pl. IX., which are in the British Museum, all the specimens are in the Cambridge Museum. An interesting variant is described and figured on p. 197.

All the *doiom* had names and some were considered to be more powerful than others. The three most important were: "*Dugena*," owned by Gasu (pl. VIII. fig. 1, pl. IX. fig. 6) which made very heavy rain with a little thunder¹; "*Serpaker*," owned by Enoka (pl. XI. fig. 3), this was exceptionally good at making lightning and very loud thunder, it also made heavy rain but not so heavy as that made by *Dugena* (*serpaker* is also the name for a small fly); and "*Toraipar*," or "*Olo*," owned by the late Saparo of Er (18).

The original place, *giz*, of the rain-makers was at Ulag (or Wao), but the Ulag *le* gave the right to make rain to certain other people. As a matter of fact all the *Zagareb le* (to employ that term in its larger sense) were the rain-makers, but the chief *zogo* ground was on the plateau of Lewag, immediately to the south of Ulag. The district inhabited by the *Zagareb le*, with the exception of the small settlements at Eger, Er, Mergar and Werbadu, was at the northerly end of the island, which is the spot first struck by the great thunderstorms of the north-west monsoon.

Irmer gali, or Ceremonies in connection with the Irmer zogo.

About the end of November, or beginning of December, the *zogo le* of the Meaurem *le*, Zagareb *le*, Geaurem *le*, and Mergarem *le* consulted among themselves, and arranged that it was time to have the *irmer gali*. At this ceremony the young men of the above mentioned groups were initiated into the manner of preparing the *doiom*, and the songs and dances connected with the *gali*.

The *gali* was held at Baur, now the compound of the London Missionary Society. The young men gave notice to the Peibre (or Dauereb) *le* to prepare the ground by cutting down any bush and clearing away the grass; the Peibre *le* also supplied the food for the occasion, and their wives cooked and prepared it.

¹ After Gasu had given us a complete exhibition of the *doiom* ceremony I besought him to let me have "*Dugena*," and I willingly paid him what he asked for it. The next day he came round to revoke his bargain, but I was obdurate, and since then he has never ceased regretting its loss. The head of this *doiom* is broken off from the body; this occurred because on one occasion it did not act properly in making rain and Gasu in a fit of anger threw it down, and the head broke off, then he was sorry and fastened it on again with a piece of wire.

During the time the ground was being cleared, all the *zogo le* met at Ulag, bringing with them the young men to be initiated (*kèsi*). These were then taught the songs, dances, and how to dress the *doiom*. Each man was supposed to possess one of these stone images.

The dressing, *taier*, of the *doiom* consisted of a small *bigo* (bull-roarer) and two or three *gòda* nuts (a large nut, *Pangium edule*, used as a rattle), these were fastened round the neck with a small line made of coco-nut fibre; they hung in front of the neck, and the line was left long behind with a loop, by which the *doiom* was lifted or suspended. Two petticoats were fastened round the *doiom*, the *ser nesur*¹ was put on first, and the *kiaki nesur*² over that. (Pl. VIII. fig. 1, pl. X. fig. 3.)

When the ground was prepared at Baur, and the young men were proficient in the ceremonies, and the *doiom* prepared, the men cut the spadix, *pesur* (that is the branch or stem from which the coco-nuts hang), when the young nuts, *kirir*, were about the size of plums, they stripped the outer skin of the branch, and it was then of a very delicate pea-green colour. Every man had two of these branches, and held one in each hand when dancing. He also cut a forked stick about 183 cm. (6 ft.) long, which was used for the suspension of the *doiom*.

Everything being now ready, a day was appointed for holding the *gali*. The outsiders, *nog le*, assembled shortly before sundown. On this occasion the *nog le* beat the two ceremonial Malu drums, Wasikor and Nemaui; they had also long reeds, *pater*, about 250 cm. (8 ft.) long, and split 61 cm. (2 ft.) down one end, they held these *kerker keber* in their hands and shook them, so that they rattled, when each part of the singing and dancing was finished, to give the people notice that there was to be an interval.

The *zogo le* arrived immediately after sunset, their bodies anointed with coco-nut oil, and their hair covered with a mixture of charcoal and coco-nut oil, to make it very black and glistening. A wreath, *ogo*, made of two red leaves (like the croton, but not variegated) was fastened round the brows, to the back of which was fastened a tern's feather, *sirar lub*. A band of dried banana leaf was tied round the neck, a twig of red croton, *gabage wez*, being inserted behind. Round the waist they had a petticoat, made of the young fronds of the coco-nut, *u kupi nesur*, similar to those worn in an ordinary dance, and *kiaki nesur* over that, similar to that of the *doiom*. At the back, fixed in the band of the petticoat, was a bunch of long ribbon-like red croton leaves, *kep wez*.

As the *zogo le* arrived in a body, each stuck his forked stick in the ground and hung his *doiom* on it. Then all stood with their backs to the *doiom*, which by this time formed a large circle, inside of which the singing and dancing was done. Every man held in each hand a coco-nut spadix, with the young nuts on it. The singing began after sundown and continued until daybreak. The following are the *gali wed*, or *gali* songs, which were chanted indefinitely in a small squeaking voice:

Irmer kara zogo. Rain my *zogo*³.

Kare naidida. Give life to me, or Save me³.

A nakeamuda. And raise me up, or Strengthen me³.

¹ *Ser* is the name of a shrub with small leaves, the leaves are taken and scorched over the fire, and plaited and left to dry, when they turn to a whitish colour.

² Made from the *kiaki* vine.

³ Mr Bruce's translation.

Iwarge kaperge irmer ěngěde.

Rain [go] inside the *iwar* [and] *kaper* trees.

The first song expresses the idea of a man feeling sick, or out-of-sorts, after a long drought and beseeching the rain to come and give him new life and strengthen or save him.



FIG. 21. *Doiom*, 27 × 10 cm., triangular in section, and made of lava; the grooves indicating the head, eyes, nostrils, arms, etc. are reddened; Dresden Museum, No. 6355. The interesting and, so far as I am aware, unique feature of this specimen is the long projection (145 × 20 mm.) below the nostrils, it may represent a beard.



FIG. 22. *Bigo* used for rain-making.



FIG. 23. *Doiom* used for raising a wind.

In December, when the *gali* is held, the leaves of the *iwar* and *kaper* trees are parched and drooping. The second song asks the rain to enter them so that they will be refreshed. A few weeks later the trees begin to bud, and then the *doiom* are prepared at Lewag¹.

¹ I do not know why the first annual rain ceremony was held at Baur, which is a Peibre village close to the Kõmet village of Zaub, neither place belonging to the rain-making groups. The idea may have been to present rain to the other groups before making it for themselves in their own place at Lewag.

I obtained models of a small lanceolate type of bull-roarer, *bigo* (fig. 22), which I believe was used in connection with rain-making. They are made of hard wood, are imperforated and undecorated, and are tied on to a cord about 61 cm. long, the other end of which is fastened to a stick (about 91 to 107 cm. in length); the three *bigo* figured measure respectively 125×37 mm., 180×35 mm., and 247×35 mm., the last specimen was made by Ulai.

Individual Rain-Making.

When a *zogo le* wanted to make rain he went into the bush to collect leaves of *wez* (croton), *puar*, *wakor* (*Ipomæa biloba*), *watu* (*Homalonema*), *giam*, *geribe*, *ager* (*Callicarpa longifolia*), and *kaperkaper* (*Abrus precatorius*) and also its seeds, "crabs' eyes." These leaves were minced and placed in a clam shell and mixed with water to form *lukup* or "medicine." The *zogo le* painted his *doiom* with red paint mixed with turtle fat and repaired to the *zogo* ground, where there was a heap of stones and shells. When these were removed and the ground cleared he laid his *doiom* face uppermost on the ground with the head in the direction of the wind, i.e. to the N.W.; then he traced its outline on the ground with his finger, and made a hole of slightly larger size. A banana leaf was then prepared by stripping off the midrib from the under surface and by slightly roasting it. The leaf was then placed lengthwise, upper side uppermost in the hole, and the ends were folded so as to form the bottom and two sides of a receptacle.

A second leaf, similarly prepared, was placed transversely to the other so that the two leaves formed a complete lining to the hole.

Lemon grass, *sarik pas*, and turtle oil were rubbed over the *doiom*, the lemon grass was then made into a bundle and burnt in a fire for a few moments, and the *doiom* was twice anointed with turtle oil applied by the burnt grass. The oil was kept in an *ezer* shell (Melo). The *doiom* was laid in the leaf-lined hole and the *lukup* was placed around and over it, then water was poured from a bamboo over the whole. Finally the free flaps of the banana leaves that formed the receptacle for the *doiom* were folded over the head, foot and sides, earth was scraped over it, and a small cairn was made of croton leaves, stones, and clam shells (pl. IX. fig. 7); frequently a trumpet shell was placed atop. Whilst all these operations were being performed the following *zogo mer* were muttered in a low sepulchral tone:

*Doiom zogo mer*¹.

*kup sisi*², dark clouds—
neder sisi, stratus clouds—
baz sisi, overcast clouds—
irmer sisi, rain clouds—

*kup kesimi*³, etc., the dark clouds collected (or *kup kesimare*).
kup baud, etc., the dark clouds (die?).

¹ Great difficulty was experienced in obtaining these "*doiom* sacred words," and much uncertainty in ascertaining their exact meaning. They consist of groups of four phrases, each of the latter enumerates a form of cloud, but the order of each group, or that of the phrases in a group, also varies. To avoid undue repetition I have given only one group in full, in the others the remaining three phrases begin with *neder*, *baz*, and *irmer*.

² I do not know what *sisi* means.

³ Perhaps it should be *kupge ismi*, break at the dark clouds.

kup mizmiz, etc., the dark clouds in pieces.
kup amasamas, etc., the darkened dark clouds (*asamasam*).
kup etamiare, etc., the dark clouds you gather.
kup esamare, etc., the dark clouds darken.

*ki samera*¹ (night darkness) or *ki disamerem* (become dark as night), *utu dikmerkare* (send away sleep), *peau derapare* (break the coco-nut leaves?), *ada gub* (outside wind), *pada gub* (noisy wind).

*Ziaiem pek aikos*² (pointing in the direction towards the south-west wind), *sagerem pek aikos* (do. east to south wind), *naigerem pek aikos* (do. north-east to east wind), *sabem pek aikos* (do. north to north-east wind), *kokiem pek aikos* (do. north-west wind). *Aupat kesem pek aikos pek aikos* (pointing towards the opening of Aupat; the largest valley, which faces N.W.).

A torch, made of old coco-nut leaves, was ignited and waved lengthwise (i.e. in the direction of the wind) over the buried *doiom*, the smoke represented clouds and the flames mimicked lightning, and alternating with the waving of the torch, a bamboo clapper, *kerker keber* (fig. 24) was sounded to imitate thunder. No words were said at this part of the ceremony.

The rain was supposed to fall when the *lukup* and leaves around the *doiom* had rotted.



FIG. 24. *Kerker keber*, or bamboo clapper, length 50 cm.

When the ceremony was properly performed a shrine was constructed which consisted of four large screens, *baz mueni* or *deiar*, being erected at the head, foot and sides of the *doiom*, "all same man die," cf. p. 136, each screen was made by plaiting upon themselves the pinnules of a large coco-nut palm leaf (pl. VIII. fig. 2). On the upper part of each was fastened an oblong piece of the cloth-like spathe of a coco-nut palm, this was blackened with soot and represented a black thunder cloud. Young coco-nut leaves were suspended close by with their pinnules pointing downwards; these imitated the falling rain.

After the rain had fallen for some time and the *zogo le* thought there had been sufficient, he went and uncovered the *doiom*, made a fire on the top of it, so as to burn up all the *lukup*, said another incantation and struck the ground with the palm of his hand. After this the rain ceased. Should he have omitted any detail, the rain would fall continuously. Sometimes the *doiom* was angry and would not stop the rain, so it had to be propitiated by being besought to do so; but this extreme measure was employed only at the break from the south-east to the north-west monsoon. I was also informed that if it was desired merely to produce a fine interval in the wet weather, so that the people could go to their gardens, the man who made the rain went very quietly in a crouching attitude to

¹ All the following phrases do not appear to have been grouped, but to have been repeated one after another in no particular order.

² Mr Ray suggests that *aikos* = adj. derived from *ekos*, "stick out" or perhaps "point towards." The termination *-em* means "motion towards," and *pek* or *apek* is "direction." Mr Ray believes that these do not form part of the *zogo mer* proper.

the spot where the *doiom* was buried and tapped two sticks together over it, and the sun would shine for a short time.

There were certain minor variations in the procedure, but the foregoing account gives, so far as my information goes, the normal full ritual. The *doiom* ceremony was usually performed in the bush, but I have information that it could be undertaken on the reef, the *doiom* being painted black, covered with leaves and twigs, and put in a cavity of the coral rock at low tide, so that it would be submerged at high tide.

A large number of men could perform these ceremonies, but only a few had any reputation as successful rain-makers. At the time of our visit to Mer (1898), Gasu (Ulag, 12 B) and Enoka (Er, 18 A) were recognised as the most powerful rain-makers. Ulai (Sebeg, 4 c) gave me some information and was rather inclined to pass himself off as an authority, much to Enoka's disgust. The first *zogo mer* I wrote down were obtained from Ulai, these I retailed to Enoka, who, for his own credit's sake felt obliged to give me a more correct version and he repudiated some of Ulai's words, saying contemptuously, "Ulai, too much he no good." As the procedure seems to have been subject to some variation, doubtless the incantations differed also, and experts naturally would employ their own variants of the formulæ.

Belief in this ceremony has survived the teaching of Christianity. On the occasion of my first visit, early in 1889, rain was scarce, although it was the rainy season, and during the absence of the white missionaries, some Zagareb *le* made rain with marked success. Sagori (Akup, 11; or Er, 18 A) and Gi (Ulag, 12) required rain for their gardens and made it in the usual fashion. The Dauereb *le* did not want any as they wished to go fishing, and a little trouble arose. Gasu and Pugari (Ulag, 12) who were then deacons, stopped the rain by taking out the *doiom*. The white missionaries returned in the spell of fine weather that immediately followed.

Gasu and Enoka went into partnership in September, 1899, as they were anxious about the next year's crops, and their reputation as rain-makers would have been diminished if rain had come without their having performed the *doiom* ceremony. So they informed Mr Bruce they were going to prepare "a good fellow one," one able to cause a flood should it be required. They still hankered after the old *doiom* which they had sold to me two months previously, and had not the same faith in the new ones. Gasu continually said to Mr Bruce, "If the Professor had not asked for *doiom*, I would not have given it away."

Mr Bruce also wrote, "We have still some very powerful *doiom* left on the island. The new church was badly injured by the foundations settling, owing to the rain of a very heavy thunderstorm, but all the natives maintained it was the thunder that did the damage, and that the storm must have been made by someone. Enoka was first suspected, but he denied his ability to do so, as he says he does not make thunder and lightning to spoil things; he only makes good rain to make men's gardens grow, and 'besides,' he said, 'I am an *ekalesia* (a member of the church), I did not spoil the sacred house.' Then they accused Wali, as he was not an *ekalesia*, and he had been angry with Finau, the teacher, about something. They have now made Wali an *ekalesia* to protect the building from further damage."

It so happened that there was a great drought the year after we left Mer, and we came in for some of the blame by having taken away so many good *doiom* that the rain-makers were handicapped. But Debe Wali (26) was also credited with stopping the rain because it was alleged he had defiled and thrown down the *zegnaipur* yam *zogo* at Dauar, it was said he knocked down the *zogo* in anger at the death of his brother Komaberi, believing, of course,

that some one was the cause of his death. Then Joe Brown was accused; they said, because he had a quarrel with Jimmy Dei, he had burnt the coco-nut *zogo* at Zaub by wilfully setting fire to the grass, and in this way he had stopped the rain and blighted all the crops. Later on Arei informed Mr Bruce as to the real cause of the drought. He said the rain-makers were afraid to make rain, in case they might make too much wind along with it, and thereby cause a hurricane similar to that which caused much havoc some months previously, and they feared the government would punish them if many lives were lost; besides, Gasu, being then blind, could not see to prepare the *zogo* properly, and they were afraid to make it.

Not only were the *doiom* powerful, but it was believed that the incantations themselves were also efficacious. During our visit, Mr Bruce induced Gasu to visit his house secretly one evening in order that he might obtain the *zogo mer*. No sooner had Gasu started reciting them, than a short shower fell, although it was a clear night. The next morning every one on the island knew why that shower had fallen.

I obtained from Ulai two bamboo models of *doiom* (fig. 23) said to have been used at Pas to cause wind¹.

A *doiom* could also be used for malevolent magic (p. 234). I took down the phrase *doiom nerut nei maidem*, "*doiom* another name for *maid*."

There is no doubt that rain-making was one of the functions of the *Zagareb le* as a whole (including the four minor groups), and all the young men appear to have been initiated into the procedure. The public ceremony *irmer gali* took place at the beginning of the rainy season, and doubtless was the recognised means of ensuring a full annual supply of rain for the island. Certain *doiom* were credited with especial power and consequently the heads of the families in which these were hereditary became potent rain-makers, and they, and other practitioners also, would make rain in their private capacity at other times when called upon to do so. Thus it appears we have in the *irmer gali* a survival of the old collective annual ceremony of a rain clan, and in addition individual rain-makers, who, however, are still confined to the rain-making community.

Wag zogo, Wind zogo.

There is a recess with a sandy floor in the lava fore-shore at Turpit which is covered by the sea at high tide. In this are two boulders of a pinkish granite, and therefore they are of foreign origin; one, *neiu* (pl. XIX. fig. 1), is oval and about 215 mm. (8½ in.) in length, the other, *sager*, is roughly spherical with a diameter of about 155 mm. (6 in.).

When it was required to make a "big wind" from the south-east four or five men took *geribe* plants and fronds of the coco-nut palm, and after repeatedly pointing them at the stones left them there (pl. XIX. fig. 2). A "big wind" would immediately arise which lasted until the plants were removed. This *zogo* was employed only in the season of the south-east trade-wind. On my asking whether the ceremony was done in the north-west monsoon Mamai said emphatically "Can't do it in north-west," that is, the charm is

¹ They are made of split bamboo, 48 cm. in length, pointed at each end; the upper 11 cm. are black, the lower portion is red in one specimen and yellow in the other; each is decorated with six stiff fibres, about 42 cm. long, two tufts of cassowary feathers, a white cowry (*Ovulum*) and two *gda* nuts suspended by strings, the shell and the nuts are painted red or yellow to correspond with the *doiom*; each has a loop for suspension.

performed only at that season of the year when the required result is possible, indeed when it is of normal occurrence. (Information obtained from Mamai (Warwe, 16).)

Meb, The Moon.

(*The Rev. Dr S. MacFarlane gave me the following note.*)

"The moon belongs to two men at Erub (Darnley Island), and is the shadow of two stones in their possession, one for the new moon and the other for the full moon. One stone on one side of the island is round like the full moon, the other on the opposite side of Erub is crescentic like the new moon."

Iluel, Venus.

Jimmy Dei informed me that *Iluel* or *Ilwel*, the large stone image of a woman that represents the evening star, belongs to Erub, and remained at a place called Irməd. When the sun goes down and the star comes up and shines with a faint light, any man or boy can take a small stone and hit the stone *Iluel* all over the body, head and limbs. "By and by, sundown, *Iluel* he light, like moon" (cf. p. 4).

Bager.

A *bager* is usually an image of a crouching woman rudely carved in lava or coral¹ (pl. XII. figs. 1—6). In most cases (but not in pl. XII. fig. 4) the woman is represented as being pregnant, generally in an advanced stage. The image was placed close to the fire when the people left their houses, and the *lamar*, or spirit, of the image was supposed to mind the fire and see that it did not go out.

It is worth noting that looking after a fire is woman's work, and as a woman far advanced in pregnancy is less likely to wander about, but would stay at home and thus be at hand to attend to the fire, so the stone woman was made in a corresponding condition in order that she might the more effectively perform her duty.

Certain *bager* are volcanic bombs (pl. XII. figs. 7, 8) which are found on Gur, this is part of the central vent of the old crater of Mer. They are kept in the houses to prevent the fire from going out. They are said sometimes to leave the house all by themselves and to return to their native hill.

The *au nei* for these objects was *ur asaskili*, probably it should be *ur asisile*, "fire care for." The *kebi nei*, '*bager*,' was however the term most generally employed; sometimes they were called *zole*, but this is an *au nei* for various kinds of stones used for magical purposes.

MAGICAL PRACTICES TO CONTROL VEGETABLE LIFE.

Enau zogo.

The most important of the wild fruits of the Murray Islands is that known as *enau*, *enoa*, or *wangai* (*Mimusops Browniana*) which is locally called the "date-plum" or "wild

¹ On pl. XII. are five figures of *bager* representing pregnant women rudely carved out of vesicular lava, their heights are respectively: (1) 245 mm., (2) 195 mm., (3) 285 mm., (5) 137 mm., (6) 46 cm. Both eyes in fig. 2 were originally inlaid with nacre. Fig. 4 (235 mm. high) is made of brainstone coral, it has no legs, and is cleverly carved. I collected it in 1889 and gave it to the British Museum. Fig. 7 is 235 mm. in length and fig. 8 is 182 mm. All except 4 and 5 are in the Cambridge Museum.

plum." The fruit when ripening is of a red colour, but when fully ripe it turns to the colour of a purple plum. The wood of this tree is very durable, consequently the stump of a *wangai* tree forms an excellent boundary mark.

The *enau zogo* is of recent and local origin and is the only *zogo* that lacks something supernormal in its inception. The founding of the *zogo* was due to the fact that the people wanted the fruit to ripen quickly.

So some *Teg le* and *Ormei le* decided on erecting a shrine and making a *zogo* to expedite matters. They repaired to *Kebi Dauar*, the smaller hill of the island, where there are a number of small stones very similar in appearance to the stone of the *enau* fruit; these they collected and having cleared a circular patch of ground in the garden now belonging to Billy at *Waperered*, they placed a large number of giant clam shells there, in each of which they put a quantity of the small stones (pl. III. fig. 4, pl. XIII. fig. 10). The stones and shells were painted red with *mair*, and anointed with the usual scraped coco-nut kernel mixed with coco-nut oil, *id*, when the *enau* fruit was still green, in order to ripen it. They also rubbed their bodies with *id* and painted them with *mair* and drew three red lines on their faces, one median and vertical from hair to chin, the other two converging from each angle of the lower jaw to the root of the nose. They placed a Torres Straits pigeon feather in their hair and wrapped round their waists a belt, *wak*, made of dried banana leaves. This was the decoration, *taier*, they adopted for the *zogo*. After this was finished they left the shrine and made arrangements to meet the following day at *Teg*.

The next day the *zogo le* met at *Teg* and sat down in a circle, while the head *zogo le* stood in the centre, raised his right hand with the fingers pointing downwards and made a circular motion with it as if he were stirring something, *tag dikromer*; at the same time he repeated the following *zogo mer*:

<i>Enau neau digrik</i>	<i>Enau ripe turn round</i> ¹ .
<i>Pot darpomer</i>	Stalk pluck.
<i>Tam eumida</i>	Branches dead ² .

This finished the ceremony, and it was arranged that the *zogo le* should meet alternately at *Teg* and at *Ormei*, on the opposite sides of *Dauar*, as the *enau* season came round, so that by this means the fruit could be ripened quickly. The clam shells represented baskets and the numerous stones the plenteous harvest they anticipated, while the red paint indicated the process of ripening.

The head *zogo le* are Billy for *Teg* (23) and Tako³ for *Ormei*.

As this *zogo* was a purely local production the *zogo mer* are in their own language, this is unlike the other *zogo* ceremonies in which the several *zogo le* have to employ a foreign language and thus can only guess at the meaning of the words of the songs and *zogo mer*; but as a matter of fact this does not seem to trouble them at all, since they are as earnest in using the sounds in their ceremonies as if they fully realised their meaning.

¹ This refers to the fruit turning on its stalk owing to the action of the wind.

² As in songs and other *zogo mer*, the words are few in number and are suggestive rather than fully descriptive sentences.

³ This name is not in the genealogies, possibly it is the same individual as *Katu* (*Ormei*, 25).

Alag, or Waiwa lag.

The following account of the Murray Island *Alag*, or *Waiwa lag*, has been almost entirely obtained from Mr Bruce.

When the *zogo* ceremony succeeded in producing a large crop of *enau* fruit, the *alag*, or *waiwa lag*, ceremony was held. Originally, like the *zogo*, this was confined to Dauar; but the Mer men wanted to get it, so the Dauar men gave it to the Meaurem *le* of Kop and Babud. Mr Bruce regards this as "only a play carried on as a kind of thanksgiving for the good crop of fruit. It was not *zogo*."

The following were the performers: (1) the three chief men were the *waiwa lag le*, (2) one man who acted as a kind of manager was called *wakari le* (Mr Bruce says he "acts as captain," and Enoka described him to me as "first man, like boss"), (3) numerous *alag le* who acted as runners, and (4) one man called *kum le*, but I do not know what he did.

The *waiwa lag le* (fig. 25) were clothed in the following manner. The bark of the *zem* tree (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*) was shredded out like twine and of this long fringes or petticoats, *nesur*, were made. One, fastened round the neck, hung down to the waist where it was overlapped by another which came down to the legs, the latter, the arms and the head itself were swathed with these *nesur*. The body and limbs were finally bound round with rope made of coco-nut fibre. Each carried a long pole, *tut*, the ends of which were well wrapped round with coco-nut fibre so that they would not cause any injury when they were thrown at a person. Mr Bruce who has seen this ceremony says, "when they run, which they do in a sidelong manner, they look just like great brown bears." They wore a spindle-shaped mask, *alago op* (*alag's* face), with two eye-holes, and with a short, somewhat drooping, tail-like elongation, *kod*, at the upper apex (fig. 26) which was made from Hibiscus bark.

The *wakari le* was dressed with green banana leaves made into *nesur*. One fastened round his neck reached down to his waist where it was tied round the body, and dry banana leaves were inserted beneath the waist girdle and round his neck, like a great collar. Another *nesur* hung down from his waist to the knees, this was of a light pea-green colour. The whole of the head and face was surrounded by a mask composed of dried stems of a thick grass arranged vertically. He carried a short wand in his hand.



FIG. 25. *Waiwa lag le*, from a sketch by Mr J. Bruce.

The *kum le* was dressed in the same manner except that his mask was made from the outer rind of the banana tree.

The *alag le* dressed in any fantastic style they chose, but they all wore an *alago op*, similar to that worn by a *waiwa lag le*, but the *kod* was longer and rigid (fig. 27).



FIG. 26. Sketch of the head of a *waiwa lag le* wearing an *alago op* by Pasi.



FIG. 27. Sketch of an *alag le* by Pasi.

On the first day of the ceremony, the *wakari le* alone performed. He started from Omar and examined all the *wangai* trees. The second day he repeated the performance in company with two *alag le*. The third day two more *alag le* were added and another two on the fourth day. On these days the *wakari le* went first, being followed by the *alag le*, they all pretended to be searching for something, and when they saw any people they ran after them and made pretence of spearing them.

On the fifth day one of the *waiwa lag le* joined in, and on each of the two succeeding days another *waiwa lag le* was added, together with increasing increments of *alag le*, so that by the seventh day all who liked could join in the ceremony. On the fifth, sixth and seventh and succeeding days the *waiwa lag le* took the lead, they went very slowly, meandering from side to side as if they were searching. (Enoka described them as going about like old men, they trailed a long stick on the ground and danced in a crouching manner. According to him the three *waiwa lag le* led the way, they were followed by the *wakari le*, then came the numerous *alag le*, the rear being brought up by the *kum le*.) The *alag le* were all good

runners and ran swiftly along the narrow foot-paths. They ran from Umar to Kop and Babud¹, the two latter being the head-quarters of the ceremony.

The people who were stationed at Kop and Babud sang and beat bamboos and shells as the *alag le* came daily running thither. Each day the *alag le* left their masks at Kop, laying them in a line on the ground. The following day they appeared with new masks. This performance would be carried on for a few weeks; twice every day in the morning from about 9 A.M. till noon and in the afternoon from about 3 to 5 P.M.

When the men thought this had been going on for a sufficiently long time they held a meeting and ordered food to be brought in the following day. This was done in the morning and the food was piled up in heaps. In the afternoon the food was distributed and all the *alag le* masks were put on to a heap and burned. This was the end of the ceremony for that year².

This may be regarded as the original ceremony to increase the *enau* fruit; there was an annual ceremony at the time of the ripening of this fruit in various western islands, cf. Vol. v. pp. 347—349.

Sewereat u zogo, for Coco-nuts.

The Sewereat *u zogo* is situated on the beach of the bay of Ormei on the south side of the island of Dauar. This is the spot where Gawer met Abob and Kos (p. 26), and presented them with staves before sending them off to exterminate the Waier *le*.

The Sewereat *u zogo* shrine (pl. III. fig. 3) consists of two or three large clam shells on a block of volcanic ash under a *zom* tree. The single shell on the adjacent higher rock is the *miskor* (clam shell) into which the *zogo le* poured turtle oil in which roasted bananas had been previously pounded. Each *zogo le* ceremonially supped the mixture with a coco-nut shell spoon; when they had finished the shell was placed in the position seen in the photograph, ready for the next ceremony. The object of this *zogo* was to make coco-nuts abundant. In the photograph a large *kaper* tree

¹ Dr Myers was told by one informant that they ran from Gigo to Sebeg, and by another, from Deiau to Babud.

² Dr Myers witnessed a partial representation of this ceremony as one event in a series of amusements on the Queen's birthday (May 24, 1898). Asalgi (Teg, 23) and Alo (Er, 18 b) personated the *waiwa lag*, their faces and heads were covered with a black mask, in the mouth of which they wore a sham pipe and above which waved a plume of banana leaf; black ribbons hung down from over the head. Over their black coats they wore strips of dried banana leaf, and each carried a black spear which ended in a round knob. On their approach from the bush the women and children ran down into the sea. They rushed through the crowd and then retired behind the village. The *alag* was personified by Canoe (Ormei, 25), he was said to be running about in the bush, with white stripes across his back and dressed with a helmet similar to the above save that the plume of banana leaves drooped behind instead of being more erect. Dr Myers has a memorandum that on the first day one *alag* (*wakari*) and one *waiwa lag* man ran; on the second day two *alag* and one *waiwa lag* (but a different one from that of the previous day) ran; on the third day three *alag* and yet another of the *waiwa lag*; on the fourth and subsequent days no *waiwa lag* man appeared, but an additional *alag* man was added each day. The ceremony ended on the twentieth day with the approach of twenty *alag* men.

can be seen; a great *Fusus* shell had been stuck into it, round which the bark has partially grown.

The culture heroes Abob and Kos (p. 25) were Zagareb *le*, and the Dauar men say that they erected the shrine and founded this *u zogo* along with Gawer, so that Sewereat was the first or foundation of all the *u zogo* (*u zogo giz*). No Dauar men are *u zogo le*. Before the Zagareb *le* prepared their annual *u zogo*, they went first to Ormei and prepared the Sewereat *zogo*, then they crossed over to Eger and prepared the *u zogo* there. Eger was the place to which Abob and Kos went (p. 27) and where they rested after slaying the Warip, and therefore they erected a *zogo* shrine there also. Lastly the Zagareb *le* prepared the *u zogo* at Lewag.

Mr J. Bruce informs me that "Sida (p. 22) was the original founder of the *u zogo*, so that Sewereat could not have been the first *u zogo* founded, although the natives hold that it was so; but one always finds discrepancies creep into the legends when inquired into closely. Women were not allowed to have anything to do with *zogo* work, so that Gawer should not have had a hand in erecting the *zogo* at Ormei."

Kaba zogo, for Bananas.

Mr Bruce informs me that there are two head (*tarim le*) *kaba zogo le* who are also called the *miavi le*. Jimmy Dei (4 B) represents the Gigo *zogo* and Enoka (18 A) the Sarged *zogo*. The *miavi* is a "bird" that no one sees, but it is heard calling out in the bush; the noise made is similar to that of a young child crying "*mi ai i*." The bird gives notice to all that there is going to be a plentiful crop of bananas during the season (*gaire kaba a au debele*, plenty of bananas and very good). The bird really informs the people that the *kaba zogo* ceremony has been completed and the *zogo le* assures them of an abundant crop. It seems evident that the cry of the "bird" is a pious deception on the part of the *zogo le*; one informant described it as "Devil pigeon [spirit bird], cry like baby."

According to Hunt (l.c., p. 8) if the bananas were not growing well a gift of bananas was presented to the *kaba zogo le*, who would *zogo ikehi*, make *zogo*, in order to increase the fruit. This gift was called *aosmer lewer*, "go-out food." According to him a part of this "priesthood" seceded and formed a separate *neur zogo*, "girl shrine," which had the same object as the preceding.

Sokop madub, for Tobacco.

A *sokop madub*, or tobacco charm, consists of a narrow slab of wood carved to represent a man (figs. 28—31). Some old ones (fig. 29, pl. XIII. figs. 6—8) which were collected in 1889 from Dauar show, although much worn, considerable skill on the part of the artist in giving characteristic contours to the faces. Probably these were painted, as are the more modern specimens; they measure respectively 217, 545, 435 mm.

Numbers of these effigies were stuck in the ground in tobacco gardens in order to make the tobacco grow more quickly. They were also in some instances (fig. 29 for example) tied on to a small bamboo so that the tobacco should grow to the same

height. I was informed in 1889 that sometimes a large *sokop madub* would be put in the stern of a canoe and decorated with feathers for "gammon" (fun).



Tobacco charms from the Murray Islands.

FIG. 28. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

FIG. 29. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

FIG. 30. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

FIG. 31. $\frac{1}{4}$ nat. size.

Fig. 28 is 42 cm. in height and is entirely painted in transverse bands with black, red and white pigment. A piece of very soft wood or pith is tied to the back and in it are stuck several sticks to the end of which white feathers are lashed. Sprays of maidenhair fern and leaves of *Abrus precatorius* are tied to the base of the charm.

Fig. 29 is 62 cm. in height, the face is painted red with white lines, the nose, terminal prominence and upper part of the body are also white, the rest of the body is decorated with red and white transverse bands. Some *Abrus* leaves are fastened round the neck and to the lower portion; the part below these was evidently stuck in the ground.

Fig. 30 is 265 mm. in height, it was obtained in 1889 from the maker, Billy Gasu of Dauar, it is carved in *meker* wood (*Terminalia catappa*). These three specimens are in the Cambridge Museum.

Fig. 31 was collected in 1889 and given by me to the Oxford Museum. It is 1025 mm. in height. The head, thigh and leg are red, and the body is black; the part inserted in the ground is plain.

Pl. XIII. fig. 5, is 69 cm. high; the mouth and one arm are broken; face, yellow; eye, red; hair, red, the grey grooves indicate that it is done in long curls, *ed*; neck, shoulder, arm and front edge of body, red; sides of body, black; belt, red, grey and white bands; thigh, red; lower leg, plain. British Museum; collected in 1889.

Dogaira wetpur, for a good Harvest.

Dogai masks were worn by the Mergarem *le*, Geaurem *le*, Piaderem *le*, Samsep *le* and Zagareb *le* in connection with a *wetpur* (a feast combined with a dance) which was held in rotation at the four spots which were specially reserved for this purpose. An account of Dogai will be found in the section on Religion. The *keber* of Dogai is described on p. 143.

The Dogaira *wetpur* were held annually in September and October, as food was then plentiful. There were two masks¹ which were kept in a house built of small stones (the only erection of the kind known to me) at Zer. Wanu (Areb, 15 A) and Mamai (Warwe, 16) were the principal custodians of the masks, and they prepared them for the ceremonies.

The Dogai masks were not *zogo*, but they were housed and taken great care of as if they were *zogo*. Before the masks were taken to a *wetpur* the women of that particular group went to the ground where it was to be held and carefully cleaned and prepared it, which proves conclusively that they were not *zogo*.

The Mergarem *le* and Geaurem *le* had the honour of the first annual *wetpur*. When their place at Bak was thoroughly prepared and the *wetpur* ready, Wanu and Mamai brought the two masks to Bak; one was handed over to Barsa (Terker, 20), who is the representative man of that division, and the other to Dawita (Er, 16). These put on the masks and were the first to dance; when they had finished the masks were handed over to two other men of the group, and so on until all had their turn. Spectators from other groups were present, but were not permitted to wear the masks

¹ An original Dogai mask may exist in some museum, but of this there is no record, so I asked Mr Bruce to have one made for me, and after a great deal of trouble he succeeded in sending a model to the Cambridge Museum (pl. XXII. fig. 7). This specimen is about 755 mm. (nearly 30 in.) in height and 480 mm. (19 in.) in breadth. It is composed of unpainted turtle-shell; the large nose is white with red alæ, the lips are white and the mouth red, the ears are red, the raised eyes are white with a black pupil, below each eye is a low cylinder or wart (*au bage bage*, "big cheeks," evidently to indicate high cheek bones) with red sides and white top, 64 mm. in diameter, 37 mm. in height. A red line passes down each side of the nose to the angle of the mouth and one from each ala to the mouth, the space between these is white. Six red and five white lines run vertically below the mouth. A red band runs round the face and expands into a diamond on the forehead. Sticks of pith surround the face, to which are fastened bunches of cassowary and other (mainly white) feathers to represent hair; shredded bark, grass, etc. form a fringe at the sides of the face and there is a long fringe of sago leaves, *bisi*, round the head. A white cowry is fastened above and another below and a four-rayed star, *dogaira wer*, is fixed above the forehead. On each side of the nostril is a hole for the wearer to see through and a loop stretches from side to side at the back of the mask which the wearer gripped in his mouth.

or otherwise join in the ceremony. The people camped and slept at the place where the ceremony was being held, each ceremony lasted for about a week. When the Bak men had finished, the masks were handed over to the care of Wanu and Mamai. During the time that the ceremony was in operation at Bak, those whose duty it was to perform the next ceremony were preparing their place at Kabur, and the Bak men handed over to them all the food that was left over from their *wetpur*.

The same performance was gone through at Kabur, the masks being handed over by Wanu and Mamai to Gabi (Ulag, 12 c) and Boa (Ulag, 12 B) as representative men of the Zagareb *le*. The third performance was at Mear, where Kadub danced as the representative man of the Piaderem *le*; in each case the surplus food was handed over to their successors. The last performance was at Zer, where Wanu and Mamai as head men of the Samsep *le* led off the proceedings. In all cases the other local men wore the masks and danced when the head men were tired. When the last *wetpur* was finished, Wanu and Mamai retained all the food on the ground, which appears to have been the form of payment they received for their trouble in housing the masks and preparing them for the ceremonies.

We have no precise information as to the significance of this ceremony; probably it was a magical performance to secure a good harvest, in which case it would be analogous to the *Mawa* ceremonies of the Western Islanders described in Vol. v. p. 349. Mr Bruce suggests that it may have been a kind of harvest thanksgiving or feast. The difference between a *wetpur* and an ordinary feast appears to be in the fact that the *wetpur* ground is always in the vicinity of one or more large trees, and the food is suspended from the branches of the trees so that they resemble great Christmas trees, but food is also piled up in columns on the ground.

Nauareb zogo, for Garden Produce.

Nauareb *zogo* (fig. 32) is a somewhat pyriform boulder of granite 36 cm. (1 ft 2 in.) in height and roughly triangular in section, 70 cm. (2 ft. 4 in.) in circumference; and decorated with four looped streaks of red paint, the bends of which converge towards the apex of the stone. It is situated near the lava plateau, not far from the edge that overlooks Kiam.

I was informed that this stone was a man named Nauareb who came to Kiam from Erub along with two women named Asor-puleb and Mi-puleb. The two latter stopped on the reef, but Nauareb came to the shore and said to the other two, "You fellow stop and look out sea, look out fish. I go up, I look out ground, look out garden." Thus the spider shell (*Pterocera*) and the clam shell (*Tridacna*) remain on the reef, and take charge of the fish (probably they caused only those two kinds of molluscs to be abundant) while Nauareb became a garden *zogo* and made that fruitful.

The Kòmet *le* of Sebeg, Mad, Bòget, and Korog were said to "savvy this *zogo*." Even if the stone did come from Darnley Island it must, being granitic, originally have come from one of the western islands.

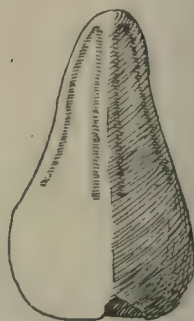


FIG. 32. Sketch of the Nauareb *zogo*.

Birobiro zogo, for Yams.

The *birobiro*, or *berobero*, is a small migratory bird, red in colour and about the size of the *ti* (sun-bird). It comes to Mer about the end of March at the time when the yams are ready for eating. It calls out its own name; when the people hear it for the first time of a season they say to each other, "Ah! *birobiro* has come, I heard it, the yams are nearly ready."

There were two *birobiro zogo* spots in Mer, one was at Opeb', and the other, and perhaps the more important, was at Naror which lies between the spur of the hill behind Zaub (or Zeub) and the Tomog *zogo* ground. The Sebeg *le* were the *zogo le* who had charge of the *birobiro zogo* and its appropriate ceremonies.

Each *zogo* stone² was kept in the bush in the *zogo* ground inside the two valves of a *miskor* (giant clam, *Tridacna gigas*) and no one except the *birobiro zogo le* was allowed to see them. Mamoose Arei gave us two shells containing the *mair*, red paint, which was used in connection with the Naror *zogo*. A large clam shell was inverted over the small shells to keep the rain off the paint.

When the *birobiro* heralds the approach of the yam season the head *birobiro zogo le* searches for a new yam like the shape of the *zogo*, then he informs a number of men that they will dig yams that day, but previously to doing so they paint their faces with three red lines, one across the brows and one on each side diverging from the root of the nose across the cheek. The women go into the bush to cook the yams; when they are ready all the *birobiro zogo le* stand in a line each holding a banana leaf with both hands in front of him. Everyone gives food in rotation to the *birobiro zogo le*. This distribution of food is called *bubarup*. The *birobiro zogo le* are rewarded by this annual presentation of firstfruits for their efforts in securing by means of the *zogo* an abundant crop of yams.

Zegnaipur zogo was the principal yam *zogo* on Dauar; Komaberi (26), who married a Zaub woman, and Arei (2), the paternal uncle of the latter, were the *zogo le* who prepared the annual ceremony.

¹ I do not know where this is. One informant said that a *birobiro zogo* was associated with Ulag, Mei and Las.

² The *birobiro zogo* were small stones ground to a smooth surface and carved to represent a bird. *Birobiro* is a *kebi nei*, the *au nei* being *omabar*. The Opep *zogo* (pl. XIII. fig. 2) is 74 mm. long, but one end has evidently been broken off a long time ago. The stone was shaped by bruising and the original pecking is now entirely obliterated, the two ends are painted red and rings of red surround each ventral prominence. One end is the head, the other the tail, the vertical projection is the wing, and the two ventral knobs are the legs of the *birobiro* bird.

A somewhat similar stone, fig. 3, lacks the vertical projection, but there is an indication that one might originally have been present, one end of the stone is bevelled off on each side into a ridge, the two knobs occur at about one-third of the total length from this end. It is made of a hornstone of fine texture, probably of metamorphic origin; it is 128 mm. long. This *birobiro zogo* was described as Kabur *zogo*, but I do not know where Kabur is; like the preceding it was called *lewer* (yam) *zogo*.

Pl. XIII. fig. 4 is a photograph of a stone which bears the label of "Naror *birobiro zogo*." It is an irregular, water-worn, tongue-shaped block of porphyritic felsite, 284 mm. in length. At the narrower end are two oval chipped surfaces which give the appearance of nostrils, but they may be accidental, one can just be seen above the left end of the stone; except for these two doubtful flakings, there is no trace of human workmanship. I have my suspicions that some mistake has arisen with regard to this specimen.

Ai geres, for Yams.

Ai gērēs (pl. IV. fig. 4) is a stone rudely carved and said to represent a woman; it was formerly placed in the garden of the wife of Jimmy Dei (Sebeg, 4 B) which was situated on the hill of Ai. Every evening *Ai geres* called out to the *zogo* stones of the surrounding gardens and scoffed at them for having dark earth and not red earth like hers: "I have red earth in *my* garden!" she said, and, as a matter of fact, the colour of the earth in that spot is an especially bright red. Beside her was a small clam shell which contained a pebble, these were her basket and food. She ensured good crops of yams.

The effigy is 42 cm. in height, the head was broken off, but was put in position to be photographed, only the arms are carved and there is no indication of sex. The lower portion, which is imbedded in the soil, is simply rounded. The figure and "basket of food" are in the Cambridge Museum. It is made of local lava.

Lewer kep, for Yams.

There were in the Murray Islands a large number of stones that were kept in the gardens to make the yams grow. Some were impersonal while others had definite names.

The impersonal stones were named after the particular food which they caused to be fruitful. For example there were numerous *lewer kep*, yam seed (pl. X. figs. 6, 7, 8); one irregular concretion (pl. XIII. fig. 11) is a *ketai kep zogo*, the *ketai* being a variety of yam. One *lewer kep zogo* consists of a large *Fusus* shell (445 mm. long) (pl. XIII. fig. 9), which was called the *nar*, or canoe, it contained a *lewer kep*.

Pl. X. fig. 6, an oval boulder of foreign stone 28 cm. long; fig. 7, an irregular water-worn block of foreign igneous rock 15 cm. long; fig. 8 a pyriform water-worn block of foreign igneous rock (an ophitic dolerite, probably intrusive, of rather coarse texture), 167 mm. long. These three were called *lewer kep* (yam seed).

Pl. XIII. fig. 11, *ketai kep*, an irregular nodule of concretionary volcanic ash, with several protuberances, 170 cm. long.

The following stones appear to have had individual names.

Tik (pl. X. fig. 2), whose function was to take charge of a garden, belonged to Warwe; it was brought to me with great care in a palm-leaf basket (pl. X. fig. 3).

Aiget (pl. XIV. figs. 5, 6) is elaborately carved back and front to represent a human head, it was described as a garden *zole* from Aum, and it made garden produce grow.

No name was obtained with the *zole* (pl. XIV. fig. 1) from Las, it was a garden charm and was carved to represent a human head with a prominent nose.

Pl. X. fig. 2, a smooth, evidently worked, fusiform stone of pink syenite, 180 cm. long with rounded ends, the ends and the equatorial swelling are bruised.

Pl. XIV. fig. 1, a head and face rudely cut out of vesicular lava, with a prominent hooked nose, length 27 cm., height 25 cm.; figs. 5, 6, an elaborately carved, wedge-shaped block of vesicular lava, 315 mm. high. One side represents a human face, apparently with a *kirkub* through the nose. The upper parts of all the raised surfaces are coloured white and the deeper parts of the intaglio are red, the only exception being the central circular depression at the back, which is white.

Kwas, to damage Crops.

Certain people, according to Mr Bruce, have the power of doing harm to fruit crops only, and they alone practise the form of magic known as *kwas*. Sometimes all the fruit rots on the trees or there are scanty crops; of course this happens only in dry seasons, but when it does occur these people are believed to have accomplished the disaster.

MAGICAL PRACTICES TO CONTROL ANIMAL LIFE.

Turtle Ceremonies: Nam zogo.

The *nam* (turtle) *zogo* was a very important shrine which belonged to the Meaurem and Kòmet *le*, it was kept in a house, *pelak*, in the bush between Babud and Mek. The *zogo* consisted of the images of a male and a female turtle made of turtle-shell, they were in the charge of three *zogo le* who were Meaurem *le*. The myth of origin of this *zogo* is given on pp. 46—52. As mentioned on p. 51, the *nam zogo* were not only effective in helping men to catch turtle or preventing them from so doing¹, but they could kill men and also make them well. Mr Hunt (l. c. p. 8) states that at the beginning of the turtle season a present of food was taken to the Meaurem *le* to ensure abundance of turtle.

Magical Turtle Ceremony.

When a turtle was caught in former days on Mer it was placed on its back on the beach and a number of men carrying *bigo*² walked three times round it "widdershins" (counter-clockwise). These *bigo* (fig. 33) are large bull-roarers, each of which was fastened to a string, the other end of which was tied to a stick. At first the *bigo* were simply carried, later they were whirled, and as the *bigo* hummed the men cried out "Oh! Oh!" in a high key. Instead of swinging bull-roarers some men would slap their



FIG. 33. *Bigo* used in turtle ceremonies.

¹ Even quite recently people have wished to summon before the police court those who were suspected of having "made *nam zogo* to prevent the catching of turtle."

² These *bigo* are of a large elongated oval form (fig. 33) of painted wood, the design is in red and yellow ochre spotted with white or red; one is 355 × 115 mm. and the other 406 × 127 mm.; the strings are about 107 cm. in length and the sticks about 137 cm.; the latter are carved at the upper end into a series of roughly cut inverted cones, painted alternately red and white. These were definitely stated to be similar to those that were employed in the turtle ceremonies.

thighs with their hands. The men decked themselves with twigs and leaves, *lislis*, some of which were formed into a coronet, others were stuck in the arm-bands, a large bunch was inserted in the back of the belt, and a bunch was held in the right hand.

When the head man had finished going round the turtle, he chewed some red earth and inserted a piece of the stem of the *gaurgaur* creeper into the cloaca of the turtle and pushed the stick backwards and forwards¹, then he spat, *mair itu*, on the under shell of the turtle so as to make four red spots, one close to each flapper.

After this all the men left the turtle and went in single file to a tree or post, upon which they fastened the *lislis*. These leaves were used upon a subsequent occasion if not too withered.

This ceremony is said to have been performed over every turtle caught, but I am not sure whether this was the case, as I have also the definite statement that it was done to the first turtle of the season; also I have no information whether it was performed at any spot or at the *zogo* ground.

Zogo baur.

Formerly when a turtle was caught by Dauar men it was placed on a beach in Dauar on its back and two carved and highly decorated boards, *zogo baur*, were erected, one on either side of its neck. A number of men closely surrounded the posts, while four men seized hold of the two long ropes which depended from the top of each board and stood at the head of the turtle with their right hands away from the turtle, they then proceeded to walk with a sort of dancing movement counter-clockwise round the turtle; after they had advanced a short distance they partly retraced their steps without turning round, and advanced again until they had circumambulated the turtle, all the time making overhauling movements with their hands on the ropes. A drum was beaten and carried round, but a *bigo* was not swung, and the following song was chanted:

<i>Ina</i>	<i>sena</i>	<i>wa</i>	<i>waii</i>	<i>dagulal</i>	<i>wapa</i>	<i>ina</i>	<i>baur</i>
Here	these			fish spear	harpoon	here	spear
<i>gam</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>waza</i>	<i>sis</i>	<i>gam</i>	<i>agu</i>	<i>waza</i>	(? <i>wazi</i>) <i>arpain</i>
body	carapace		marginal bones				lie about
<i>baur</i>	<i>nideba</i>	(= <i>nidaipa</i>)		<i>karipun</i>	(= <i>kaipun</i>).		
		hold or take			going to windward.		

In 1898 I obtained the following which is evidently a degraded variant of the former, the meaning of the last three words is unknown to me:

Mina sinaua waidälgula apa (repeat); *lulum lulum auzilulum* (repeat).

Much of this information was obtained from Kilarup (28) and Alo (18 B).

When all was finished the *baur* were removed and carried to the "bush," and the turtle was eaten. I was informed that these *baur* were not shown to the Miriam *le*; at all events none of the latter were able to explain their use to me, when I showed them the *baur* in 1889. The ceremony was confined to the Dauar *le*.

¹ Cf. Vol. v. p. 184.

Each board (pl. XXI. figs. 11, 12) had carved upon it three human faces, *lela op*, in low flat relief, these were connected by a beading. In the case of the *kimiar baur*, or male board, the lowermost face was connected by a beading, *baur gub*¹, with a turtle,



FIG. 34. Decorated zogo baur at the head of a turtle.

nam. In the *kosker baur*, or female board, the lowermost head was similarly connected with a *terpa* (a variety of clam, *Tridacna*, or the rock oyster). The male board is 3.35 m. (11 ft.) high, with an average breadth of 15 cm. (6 in.); the female board is 3 m. (9 ft.

¹ A fish spear, *baur*, is sometimes employed in catching turtle; *gub* is a waterspout. Among the Western Islanders it is believed that spirits employ waterspouts, *baiu*, as their spears for catching dugong and turtle (Vol. v. p. 359, figs. 75, 78). These two boards were evidently analogous to the two *baiu* boards employed in Pulu for a turtle ceremony (Vol. v. p. 333). The words of the song are also of western origin.

10½ in.) high, with an average breadth of 19 cm. (7½ in.). The carved turtle had a small rounded hollow, *ɔn*, between the front flappers, and a larger egg-shaped one, *bub*, or plastron, in its centre. The undecorated ends of the boards were inserted in the ground.

For ceremonial use (fig. 34) the human faces were painted with yellow ochre, *siu*, the hair, eyes, and mouth were painted in their natural colours, the clam shell and turtle were also painted yellow, the hollows being filled up with black beeswax. The beadings were painted red and the background of the boards was blackened. Their sides were decorated with various human bones, such as ribs, clavicles, fibulæ, etc., but haunch bones (*ossa innominata*) preponderated, and with shells, more especially the white cowry (*Ovulum*); all the bones and shells were painted red. Between these were inserted bunches of cassowary feathers, and by the side of each face projected, in an upward direction, a pair of the long tail-like erections of cassowary feathers so often worn in dances. The apex was crowned with the red plumes of the common New Guinea bird of paradise (*Paradisea raggiana*). A nose ornament was inserted through the perforated noses and a dogs' tooth necklace was suspended below each face. Two long ropes were fastened by one end to the top of each *baur*.

I obtained this information in Mer in 1889 after the two *baur* had been brought thither by Mr Robert Bruce, who found them hidden in a cave in Waier. Mr Bruce gave them to the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. The photographs were obtained through the courtesy of the General Superintendent, Mr J. W. Paton.

Siriam nam zole.

I obtained the following information from Ulai concerning the *siriam nam zole*. It is an irregular block of vesicular lava (pl. XX. figs. 9, 10), one end of which is rudely carved to represent a face. The stone measures 220 by 185 mm. It was kept in the "bush" and it caused floating turtle to come to the sand beach. When a turtle had been caught the man hopped twice round the turtle counter-clockwise, held his paddle with both hands, and said: "*Parema dibira guda dara awasalgulba sirisalgulba*." The first two words mean "Parem people" in the dialect of Mawata, New Guinea; other words seem to be *gud*, month, *wasal*, dancing, *gul*, canoe. As in the previous case these songs are composed of western words.

Waipem.

Close to the northern side of the southerly point of Waier is a black stone about 38 cm. (15 in.) in length, which now lies broken in the grass on a heap of stones and shells at the foot of the cliff (pl. I. fig. 4). It is called Waipem and represents a man, but it is very shapeless, a little pit on each side of the head indicates an eye. The *zogo le* used to erect in front of the image three bamboos, two vertical and one transverse, Π-wise; on the cross-bar were hung various kinds of fruit, *abal* (*Pandanus*), *sɔbe* (*Eugenia*), etc. as a present to Waipem and 'man think inside himself,' "If we give you plenty fruit, I think you give us plenty turtle." They then went to the two points of the island to look out day and night for the turtles which would be sure to come. This little ceremony was said to take place only in January. Probably this is what Mr Hunt refers to when he states, "When, at the close of the season, turtles were scarce, some of the natives from all the villages met at Waier and offered presents of food" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXVIII. p. 8).

Dugong Charms.

Dugong were not plentiful among the reefs in the neighbourhood of the Murray Islands, owing to the scarcity of the marine grass upon which they feed; as a consequence of this there is an absence of ceremonies connected with the dugong, such as those of which I obtained traces in Mabuiag (Vol. v. p. 339). The dugong came only during the south-east season. Wooden charms were however employed to entice the dugong as among the Western Islanders (Vol. v. p. 337); these were small, carefully finished models of dugong (*deger*) carved out of hard wood, which were suspended from the *narat*, or platform, from which the dugong were harpooned, "to make him come straight." In 1889 I was informed that the Waier *le* and Areb *le* wore the *deger* as ornaments ("belong flash") suspended from a necklace; but this is not likely to have been the real reason.

As will be seen from figs. 5—8 on pl. XX. the carving of the *deger* was admirably done, many have an orifice for suspension at the nose (fig. 5) or on the under side of the head, as in fig. 8. They varied in length from about 14 to 18 cm.; 15—16 cm. being usual lengths. Fig. 8 is 182 mm. in length, the grooves are marked with red paint, except those of the eyes, which are blue; this well carved specimen is in the Cambridge Museum. Figs. 5—7 are in the British Museum.

Fish Charms.

A large piece of curved stratified volcanic ash projects from a cairn on the beach at Er (pl. I. fig. 1). This represents Sorkar, who is referred to in the Malu legend (footnote, p. 42). His function is to ensure abundance of *tup*, the small fish that comes inshore in shoals at certain seasons. Should boys throw stones at Sorkar the *tup* will be driven away from the shore. This information was obtained from Enoka (Er, 18 A).

The *zab zogo* is a small shrine consisting of one or two clam shells resting against a rounded boulder on the shore of Waier. The *zab* is a small fish, like *paris* (gar-fish, Belone), which is caught from canoes by night, being attracted by flaring torches.

Images of fish carved out of stone, usually the fine-grained volcanic ash, were frequently used by the Murray Islanders. These were called *lar*, the general name for fish, but they were also called after the particular fish which they were carved to represent.

Numbers of *lar* (pl. XX. figs. 1, 2)¹ were painted red and placed in rows on the ground near a house², and between them were placed shoots of the coco-nut palm and "bushes"; this was done to ensure that large numbers of fish should be caught in

¹ These specimens were given by Mr R. Bruce to the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow. I am indebted to the General Superintendent, Mr J. W. Paton, for a photograph of them.

² Perhaps this was a case of homœopathic magic, the man's house being equated to the stone walls of the *sai*.

the fish-weirs, *sai*, that enclose large areas on the reefs on the eastern side of Mer (pl. II. figs. 1, 2). The specimens respectively are 130 and 152 mm. in length.

Pl. XX. fig. 3 is a broken specimen of a *gwis* (a small species of fish) obtained from an Ulag man, who described it as *zogo*. It was 'made good,' i.e. prepared in some way and placed in a canoe in order to cause a good take of fish. The borders of the eyes and opercula are deeply cut and painted red, the teeth are indicated by alternate red and white oblique grooves. It measures 80 mm. in length and 95 mm. in height.

Pl. XX. fig. 4, an ovoid, flattened piece of vesicular lava, rich in hornblende, 25 cm. in length, which has somewhat the form of a fish, was called *garom* (an edible grey fish with brown spots). It was kept in a garden at Mei and rubbed with coco-nut oil to make fish fat, and was said not to be a *zogo*. This specimen is evidently very old; at the broader end there is a V-shaped groove which represents the gill opening behind the opercula, the head has long been broken off.

Lewer mog.

Lewer mog (a piece of food) is a pale greenish-yellow, mottled and pitted lump of resin, a small piece of which was chewed with *wauri lukup* and spat on the bow of a canoe to bring good luck in fishing, more especially when diving for large white cone shells, *wauri*. I do not know what plants were employed in the medicine, *lukup*.

Lag zogo, for Control of Mosquitos.

During the months of the north-west monsoon, and especially in December, mosquitos are very plentiful on Murray Island, and the people firmly believed that they were produced by the *lag zogo le*. Whether the *zogo le* does or does not still carry on his rites (although he is credited with so doing), he certainly does not appear in public with his body painted in the old style. Lakop, which is close behind Zomared, is the headquarters of the *lag zogo*; an explanation of this is given in the legend of the *ti* birds (pp. 8—10).

If a house was pestered with mosquitos the owner knew that the *zogo le* was displeased with him.

The friendly fanning visits, *to-tuam*, which are paid by the members of one village to another during the mosquito season, are described in the section on Social Customs in Vol. IV. When the *to-tuam* is finished the natives hie to the *lag zogo le* and beseech him to send the mosquitos away. They are not very particular as to the time, but when the mosquitos eventually depart the *zogo le* gets the credit of having banished them.

The mode of removing the pest by means of this *zogo* is very similar to the other forms of *zogo*. The *zogo le* takes the kernel of an old dry coco-nut, chews it in his mouth, and blows the masticated nut over the stones surrounding the water-hole at Lakop, repeating an incantation (*zogo mer*) at the same time; or he scrapes the kernel into a coco-nut shell, mixes it with water and expresses the milky fluid (oil and water), with which he anoints the stones while uttering the *zogo mer*.

The coco-nut oil and water is called *sabid*, and seems to be greatly used in all *zogo* ceremonies.

The *zogo le* (fig. 35) had transverse white lines painted all round his arms, legs and body and across his face. The paint was made from burnt shells and the lines represented the grey bands on the mosquito, the white stripes on the face represented the head of the mosquito. A head-dress of leaves with a plume of black cassowary feathers pointing backwards completed the original decoration of the *lag zogo le*. The natives admit they now have another fashion since clothing has been introduced; when Mr Bruce saw Kud ("Captain Brown"), the late *zogo le*, he wore a short petticoat of banana leaves; but formerly the *lag zogo le* had no covering, indeed, at that time all the men were nude, and it was only in connection with certain ceremonies that a dress of some sort was worn. Kud had the reputation of having great influence over mosquitos.

The last *zogo le* that openly officiated were three brothers named Arago, Kud and Aii¹; the office was hereditary. This family owned a large tract of land extending from Baur to Umar and from Deiau to Gigo. At present Pasi (27) holds one part of Aii's land, Ulai (4 c) another part, and many other individuals have obtained portions by making such claims as that one of the brothers promised it to them or wanted to adopt them, for the natives are never at a loss for an excuse when desirous of claiming a piece of land. The consequence of this is that the share of the rightful heirs to this once large estate is now considerably curtailed. They left no children, as Arago and Kud were unmarried and the three children of Aii all died young. Gasi was the father of the three *zogo le*, and his land, which extended from Beaur to Zomared, was inherited by Arago and Kud. Natoro of Zomared, who was a bachelor, adopted Aii, the youngest of the three brothers, and when Natoro died Aii was heir to his land, which consisted of Zomared and another large piece that extended from Deiau to Gigo. As Aii was adopted out of his own family, he did not inherit land from his father Gasi. Aii, as adopted son of Natoro, was his heir and took precedence as such over any of Natoro's blood relations (pp. 163, 164).



FIG. 35. *Lag zogo le*, from a drawing by J. Bruce.

Sirar-sirar zogo, for Terns' Eggs.

This is an irregular, truncated, triangular, pyramidal block of granitic rock, 187 mm. long and 115 mm. high, which was kept in a melon shell (*Melo diadema*) in the bush. It ensured a plentiful supply of the eggs of the tern (*Sterna Bergii*), but its power could be inhibited. For example, if a number of men went to a sand-bank to collect *sirar* eggs and left behind one man who much wanted to accompany them, he would

¹ Unfortunately this family is not recorded in the genealogies, having died out.

go to the stone and pour water over it, and, as a consequence, the other men would not find any eggs.

Babelu (13 A) spoke of an *ebur wer* (bird's egg) at Weget, which was associated with the *sirar-sirar*; he said it was not *zogo*.

Mokeis, for Destruction of Garden Produce by Rats.

Mokeis or "rat" is a small piece of vesicular lava rudely carved on one side to represent a rat's(?) head (pl. XIV. fig. 3); it measures 118 mm. by 97 mm., the features are emphasised by white lines, the incised lines being painted blue. It was kept hidden in the bush inside a pair of large clam shells. When it was desired that rats should eat the fruit, yams, or sugar-cane of someone else's garden, the owner opened the valves of the shell. The specimen was obtained from Ulai.

Tabu, to prevent Rats from destroying Bananas.

I obtained from Jimmy Dei an irregular oblong piece of vesicular lava, showing vesicles elongated in the direction of the flow, which is about 25 cm. long and 11 cm. high (pl. XIII. fig. 1). It was supposed to resemble the head of a *tabu* snake, and, as snakes prey upon rats and mice, he kept it in his garden to prevent rats from eating the *sopsop* (a bunch of bananas wrapped up while growing on the tree).

MAGICAL PRACTICES TO CONTROL HUMAN BEINGS.

Love Charms.

Various devices were employed by the Torres Straits Islanders to attract the attention and stimulate the passion of women and girls by men who had taken a fancy to them. Some of these devices were examples of homœopathic magic (see Vol. v. p. 327), but all of them relied on the subtle associations of scent. I cannot say whether any of the scents so employed have any direct stimulating effect, but, should any scented object be worn by a young man when he desired to influence a girl, there can be no doubt that suggestion alone would act powerfully upon the latter; thus *kog lukup*, or sexual medicine, would of itself be potent even if other practices were not employed. The power of words and the projection of the will were also greatly believed in by the natives. The *Waiet zogo* appears to have been an erotic cult (see Religion).

When the young men wish to scent themselves in order to please the girls, they chew *kusi bager* (*Kæmpferia galanga*), *kera kera* (also the root stock of a zingiberaceous plant) and *kiaki kiaki* (I was informed this was a root like *kera kera*, but the *kiaki* of Mabuiag, which was also used as a love charm, is *Polanisia viscosa*, Vol. v. p. 328) and mix the chewed roots with the water of a green coco-nut in its own shell. The mixture is poured all over the body and rubbed in with leaves of the *kosor* tree, which also has a scent. If the girl whom it is desired to attract is in a house, the young man goes quietly to windward of it; when the girl perceives the scent she looks out to see who it is, and if she is pleased with the youth she goes out to him.

Kog lu, or Omabar kog lu.

Mr Bruce sent me the following information. One *omabar kog lu* is a piece of black lava carved into the form of a man's penis¹. When a young man was enamoured of a young woman he procured certain plants and dried them, then he burnt them and preserved the ashes which he put into a small shell, mixing them into a paste with coco-nut oil. This *kog lu* was anointed with the paste, *kog lukup*, and wrapped up in *bisi wam*². He also anointed himself on each temple and thought as intently as possible about the girl. He continually prepared the paste and wished hard until he had obtained his desire. He repeated the following *kog mer* to himself whenever he saw the girl:

<i>Sagaro</i> ³ <i>ai</i> ⁴ <i>bamege</i> !	Sagaro you come!
<i>Waba</i> <i>bamege</i> !	You you come!
<i>Sio</i> <i>bamege</i> !	Sio you come!
<i>Pikaro</i> <i>bamege</i> !	Pikaro you come!
<i>Bamege! bamega! bamega!</i>	You come! you come! you come!

He also touched or flicked with his right index finger each temple that had been anointed and called out *Uleka*⁵! The girl could not resist, but was bound to go to him. When a young man went to a dance or to any meeting at which women would be present, it was customary for him to prepare his *kog lu*⁶ and place it in his belt, right upper-arm band, or in the arm-guard on his left arm. When he saw the girl he fancied he performed the foregoing operations.

I obtained from Ulai an imperfect, rolled up, old New Guinea belt, *marek*, which was wrapped round a piece of scented *mar* root, 125 mm. long, and a red *wada* bean (*Mucuna*) (pl. XXI. fig. 7); the whole was worn by a man as a love charm.

Certain flattened, round or oval stones, *omabar* (pl. XXI. figs. 3, 4), were employed for a similar purpose. Fig. 3 is a worked stone, probably a porphyritic lava, 62 by 59 mm. Fig. 4 is a natural, flat, water-worn pebble, 31 by 26 mm. One man said they belonged to *neur madub*. A carved *omabar*, 3 cm. long, of foreign stone (pl. XXII. fig. 6) looks like a phallus, and also resembles the *birobiro zogo*, pl. XIII. fig. 3.

Some *omabar* or *kog lu* are supposed to be more powerful than others, each family considering theirs the most effectual. They are handed down as heirlooms from father to son.

¹ One of these *omabar* is shown in pl. XXI. fig. 5, it is 65 mm. long. I collected it in 1889 and gave it to the British Museum.

² *Bisi wam*, the shredded leaves of the sago palm, was always used for this purpose, being considered more efficacious than anything else as it was the material from which women's petticoats were made.

³ *Sagaro* (*Sagaru* or *Sio*) was Sida's New Guinea wife, Vol. v. p. 29; *Pikaro* (*Pekari*, p. 20, *Pëker*, Vol. v. p. 29, *Pakar*, v. 32) was the *Zagareb* beauty with whom he fell in love.

⁴ Perhaps *aie*, the Western, Come!

⁵ The natives explain this word as equivalent to the phrase, "You always look at me"; it is derived from the Western *ulaika*, "to go along" or "for going along." Mr Bruce adds, "the *kog mer* like all their other formulæ are not in the Murray dialect, but *korkairam lera mer*, "words of the Kulka people" (cf. Vol. III. p. 6).

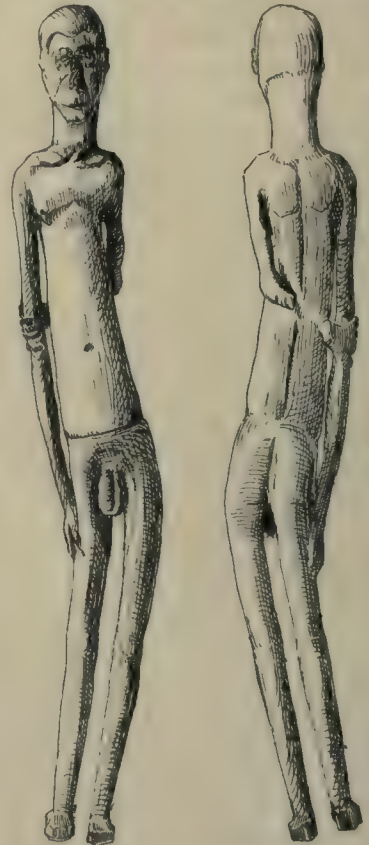
⁶ Mr Bruce sent me a packet of *kog lu* (pl. XXI. fig. 8) in which the *bisi wam* is partially enclosed in a leafy wrapper; it contains some masticated root of the *kusi bager* (*Kæmpferia galanga*). He says "this custom originated from Said and Pekara" (*Sida* and *Pekari*, p. 21).

Neur madub.

The *neur madub* is a wooden image of a nude girl (pl. XXI. figs. 9, 10). If a man liked a girl who would have nothing to say to him, he obtained a *neur madub*, tied round it certain scented leaves, *pas*, a scented bark, *paiva*, from New Guinea (probably of the sandal wood tree), and *kera kera*; these he put in a basket which he carried about with him. One informant said it acted as a compelling love charm; but another said that it caused the girl to "go along with plenty men," and that she became "crank." The *neur madub* was made by a *maid kem le*, or *maid le* (sorcerer), who gave it to the lover after teaching him what leaves to gather and how to apply them. The latter paid the *maid kem le* in work or goods.

Pl. XXI. fig. 9 is a fairly well carved representation of a young girl I collected in Mer in 1889. It is 345 mm. high, has a *nano user*, or breast scarification (p. 155) and a *kip user* immediately above the buttocks, the latter scarification resembles the former, but it is doubled. Fig. 10 is a similar *neur madub* which I obtained at Erub, though it was said to have come from Masig, it is 215 mm. high. Both specimens are in the British Museum. A description of the scarification on these images will be found in Vol. 1.

A *neur madub* (fig. 36), 215 mm. high, was cleverly carved by Gobai of Warwe (16 c) in hard wood to represent a deformed man named Abos (? 1), who used to walk with his left arm behind his back, the hand clasping the right arm.

FIG. 36. *Neur madub.**Maid.* (C. S. MYERS.)

Harmful magic or *maid* was recognised as justifiable in cases of anger and revenge (*maid urkerlam*) and in cases of adultery (*maid koskerlam*). It was used by any Murray Islander upon another: indeed the practice still survives. Jimmy Dei (4 B), the police sergeant, offered the following example of *maid urkerlam*. If one man fought and beat another, and beat perhaps several of the latter's brothers besides, then "people would talk" and the reputation of the vanquished family would suffer. Thereupon, one of the injured, having called his brethren together, would say, "Good thing we make *maid* this man." They would await a favourable opportunity, either in the day-time when he might be working at his garden, or by night when he would be strolling in solitude along the sea-shore.

Maid, as practised in the day-time, will be first described. Having found his adversary in the bush (i.e. his garden), the avenger took a chance stone from the

ground (commonly of oval shape and about three inches in length), and uttered some magic words, or *zogo mer*, in a half whisper, so that his victim might not hear. Once or twice he spat on the stone; finally he hurled it with great force at the back of his enemy, who thereupon fell down senseless, breathing heavily. The assailant and his brothers quickly approached the prostrate body and belaboured it with their clubs "until he half dead. No good a fellow hit him too much. He no want kill him altogether." Then they rubbed the man's body with a mixture of herbs (*pewer* (*Dracæna*), *pas* (a scented plant), *kepsabo*, and coco-nut oil, to remove the marks from his body. They placed his bush-knife beside him and left bananas and coco-nuts for him to eat. Finally, while he was still unconscious ("he know nothing"), they told him that he was to go up a coco-nut tree and to fall down from it, breaking his leg, or that he would one day be bitten by a centipede, which would cause him to "swell up all over so he dead"; or perhaps it would be told him, "Suppose you go that point, *Kiam*, or that point, *Umar*, you go home, you dead."

The sorcerers, *maid le* or *maid kem le*, having uttered their spell, retired to a short distance and made use of further *zogo mer* to bring back life to the body. Their attention was fixed on the hair of the skin. "Suppose devil (spirit of life) go inside, hair he come out (stands erect). Suppose devil he go out, hair he go down." The man's first deep inspiration was anxiously awaited. "They think he all right now. They wait, wait, wait. He breathe again. He slew round (turns about). He lie down. By'n'by he breathe again. He slew round. He can't say nothing. He thinking about himself. 'What the matter me?' Eye belong him look round. 'I think I fall down one tree.' He find him knife. He get up, walk about all same sick. He take banana, take coco-nuts and knife. He come home."

His assailants followed him at a distance. One of them picked up a small stone and threw it so as to hit a tree near the crippled man, or they clapped their hands so as to make a hollow sound, at the same time hissing with their mouths. "He say, 'What thing that?' He no think about him sick. He come strong. He run, run, run. He go home, see woman belong him. He sing out, 'You makey (prepare) me bamboo-pipe. I go smoke.' He smoke. He all same dead now. By'n'by he say, 'You give me water.' He drink. He go sleep. He no tell woman belong him, no time. Inside belong him all right now. By'n'by he tell woman he go up coco-nut tree. Medicine make him go up. He no go up himself. He go up coco-nut tree. He fall down, break his leg. By'n'by he die. Perhaps he bitten quick by centipede; then he die. Man can't cure him. Put him medicine, he no cure him. Perhaps he go *Kiam*, he go *Umar*. He come back; two days, he dead." Thus surely worked the spell.

The procedure was very similar at night-time. Instead of a stone, an *omaiter* (a long spear closely resembling the common dugong-harpoon, or *wap*) was hurled at the man. (Figs. 37—40.) He was hit by the spindle-shaped end, in which was a small cavity containing *lukup*, which consisted of leaves of the *sarik pas* (lemon grass, *Andropogon*) and the very pungent bulb of a zingiberaceous plant *kera kera*. When unconscious, he was rubbed with a mixture of sea-weeds (*pager*, *dam* (*Cymodocea*)) and sea-water, and was given sea-water to drink.

In the above account free use has been made of the picturesque language, in which it was originally narrated by Jimmy Dei. It is noteworthy that, although Mr Bruce

has met many men under the influence of *maid*, he has never seen upon their bodies such marks of injury as could be caused by the blows of a club or of a stone. His long experience leads him to believe that the victim's mind is so overwrought by brooding over the vengeance which his enemy is known to owe him, that all the consequences are simply imagined. There can be little doubt that imagination has an extraordinary influence over these and other people. The surgeon of Thursday Island goes so far as to attribute the mortality of Chinese after major amputations to the severe depression set up by the supposed eternal loss of a limb. Similarly, according to Mr Bruce, Murray Islanders have died merely from the fear of another's power of sorcery. The approach of a man reputed to possess the power of magic has been known to break up a merry party of dancers and to send strong men pale and panic-stricken to their homes.

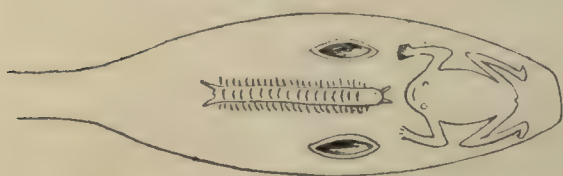


FIG. 37.



FIG. 38.

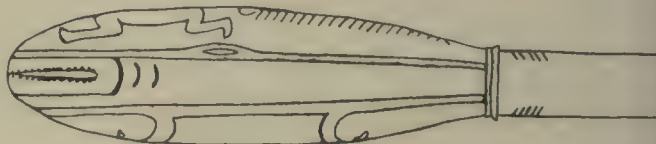


FIG. 39.



FIG. 40.

FIGS. 37, 38. Upper and side views of the head end of two *omainter* or *maid wap*, in the Cambridge Museum. The incised contours of the tree-frogs, *goai*, and the body of the centipede, *isi*, are red, most of the other incised lines are alternately red or blue. The grooves at the beginning of the shaft in Fig. 38 are a tally of the number of persons injured by the implement. The total length of each *omainter* is about 4 m. (9 ft. 9½ in., and 9 ft. 8 in.).

FIG. 39. Upper, side and under view of the head end of an *omainter*, formerly in the possession of Mr R. Bruce.

FIG. 40. Broken-off head end of an *omainter*; 24 cm. in length. Collected in 1889; British Museum.

Not every man is credited with the power of killing by *maid*. Some enjoy a higher reputation than others in this respect. The *maid le* are not confined to any particular

local group. Their powers are thought to be inherited by their recognised heirs, to whom the mysteries are imparted. No islander will admit of himself that he has magic power, but from time to time he "charges" his fellows in the court house with working *maid* upon him. He is doubtless kept from adultery and other wrong doing by the belief that they are capable of exercising such spells. In 1889 Mr Haddon obtained a *kupe*, or bundle of tallies, which belonged to Ebui (Baton's brother, Areb, 15), each stick of which was said to indicate a person injured by an *omaiter*. It is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford.

The limits of hypnotic suggestion seem to forbid the view that the subject of *maid* is thrown by the *maid le* into a hypnotic state, during which some mode of an early death is suggested to him.

According to Mr Bruce, when a man had been attacked in the bush by the *maid le*, he ran home, filled with fear. On arriving at his house, he immediately called for coco-nuts to drink, in order to assuage his intense thirst. Then he lay down to die, telling his friends the *maid le* had attacked him. He complained of pain in his back and refused all food. He lost all heart and generally died within two or three days. His friends would never think of demanding medicine for him from a European, as that would be going against *maid*. They refrained from mention of *maid* until he died. They then consulted among one another as to who had caused the death. They decided upon some one who had been at variance with the deceased, and if he in turn became ill or died it was attributed to *maid*.

Mr Bruce knew of one case in which the man who was supposed to have caused a certain person's death was a hundred miles distant at the time. On his arrival at Murray Island he was tried but the chief was afraid to punish him. However, he did not live long; his death was also attributed to *maid*. Then his friends retaliated on his supposed murderer; and so it went on, until at the time of writing four men had died, all of whom were reputed to be powerful workers of *maid*, and to be able to do anything in the way of secret killing. Such individuals, of course, were greatly feared by the rest of the people; but as they died off, others always cropped up to fill their places. The Samoan teacher of that time was a great believer in *maid* and wanted the *maid le* to be apprehended and sent to prison on Thursday Island. The insistence with which he made these demands did not tend to lessen the natives' belief in the power of *maid*.

The reputation of certain individuals for working *maid* persists. Not many seasons ago, Idage (Werbadu, 21), who is now a policeman in Erub, blighted all the coco-nuts on Mer, before leaving for his present position. More recently, Barsa (20), a *Beizam boai*, and a policeman of Mer, stroked his moustache or made some similar motion while a dance was in full swing at Christmas time. Mr Bruce says that the meeting instantly broke up, many of the men shaking with fear, some older men being so terrified that he thought they would have died.

Mr Bruce says that belief in *maid* acts as a deterrent against adultery, for should a man commit this crime he is in continual fear of being killed in this manner by the husband he has wronged or by his friends.

Kamer tonar, or Eud lu.

This method of malevolent magic could be done by anybody, although it was practically confined to the *Zagareb le* and probably was originally confined to them, who, by the by, claim knowledge of most of the *zogo*. It was performed in secret and had a great hold upon the imagination of the people. Its object was to cause disfigurement of the face or even death.

Kamer is a reddish powder, which is eaten by *serpaki* flies, that is found in rotten drift wood from New Guinea. When a man wished to perform this magic he hunted along the coast for some of this wood, and when he had found it he very carefully scraped the poison with a broken arrow into the cavity of a small bamboo stem, *burar*, held at arm's length, and he took care to stand to windward of it, since his nose might be destroyed or his life endangered should he smell it or should some of the powder be blown in his face. Some took the precaution of covering their face with a banana leaf, and the bamboo was best held by a string. The man then covered it up and carried it very carefully to his home and hid it in a secret place. To render it yet more efficacious, *nem sus* was also added to the *Kamer*; this was described as "red stuff on top of coral," a small piece, about 25 mm., was broken off and put in the bamboo (probably this was decomposing coral polyps). Also the scraped kernel of jettisoned *gda* nuts, after it had rotted, was added to the *kamer*.

When the man wished to use it he took the midrib of a coco-nut leaf, dipped it in the poison and thrust it into a piece of yam or other food, which he gave to the individual he desired to destroy. This was generally done as the result of a quarrel, but the food was not offered until the parties had apparently become friendly again, or until the victim had forgotten about the affair. The food might be given to the wife, who was told not to eat it but to give it to her husband. When the victim was ill, the other man would bring food to him so as to disarm suspicion. When the *kamer* was used on food, the person eating it was affected in the throat and mouth, this form was called *te aroaro*. One informant said it kills women by burning their throats, but it did not affect the men in this manner.

If anyone was jealous of a good-looking man or woman, this revenge might be employed, but in that case the stuff was placed on the face close by the nostrils, when the victim was asleep, by means of a *waumer lub* (feather of the frigate bird). The nose was first destroyed, then the throat, finally, as one informant put it, "he short of wind and he die." This form was called *op araparap* or *pit aroaro*. The *Zagareb le* were supposed to be exempt from external disfigurement, as it only affected them internally.

Kamer was very effective in deterring people from robbing gardens; very little theft occurred from gardens of those who knew how to prepare *kamer*, but the gardens of those who did not know this art were robbed without mercy. When bananas or other food stuff were ripe, the man was supposed to secretly prepare *kamer* and to doctor the food. As the thief was not certain which tree had been poisoned he was afraid to risk it and so left the food alone.

Another method was to prepare a crocodile's tooth with *kamer* and bury it in

the road along which the victim would pass, in which case he would be affected with the disease in the feet or legs.

Gasu (Ulag, 12 B) and Ulai (Sebeg, 4 C) were credited with a knowledge of *kamer*, but the latter was not a *Zagareb le*. Marau (15 B) is supposed to have been punished in this manner with his disfigurement because he put the sacred Malu mask, *Zogo Malu*, on his head.

Eud lu aber.

Mr Bruce states that the *Zagareb le* had also the following method of killing people. A sea-slug called *erōko* (*Dolabella scapula*, one of the *Aplysiidæ*) is found in Torres Straits on the reefs, which emits a purple fluid. One of these sea-slugs is obtained, prepared with incantations and wrapped up till it decomposes, it is then placed at night time at the entrance of the house where the victims are sleeping. When the latter come out in the morning they drop down on the ground quite helpless and soon die; one informant said the stench knocked them over. Old men have informed Mr Bruce that once at Sebeg they saw a whole houseful of young men fall down in this manner on coming out of the house, dropping over each other in their terror.

The man that prepared the charm had the power of arresting its action by pronouncing another incantation.

The term *eud lu aber* means "deadly thing *bêche-de-mer*"; *aber* being the general name for *Holothurians*, but the *erōko* is zoologically a mollusc.

Kesur eumida tonar, Shell-turtle Poisoning.

On the 20th of March, 1896, three infants, aged from 8—11 months, were attacked with vomiting and died in a few hours after sucking from their mother's breast, each mother having previously eaten some boiled flesh of the shell-turtle (*Chelone imbricata*). An enquiry by Mr Bruce into this occurrence led to the following information.

It is not customary for the Miriam to eat this turtle, though they say the other islanders to the west do eat it; but Macgillivray (Vol. II. p. 10) states that "the hawksbill turtle and its eggs are forbidden to [Muralug] women suckling" (Vol. V. p. 270). If the Miriam have a grudge against any person and they are out fishing and find a shell-turtle, they do not spear it, but they tell the turtle to go straight to the person with whom they are at enmity, and they say to the turtle that only a particular person or members of his family are to eat it and no others. The turtle swims to the place where that individual generally fishes. That person sees it, and the turtle makes no struggle but allows itself to be caught. The person cooks and eats it, but the charm does not allow him to give any part of it away. He dies and so does whoever of his family eats of it. When the turtle is in the sea it is invisible to everyone except the man to whom it was sent and he does not know it is a shell-turtle.

Saibri lu, or Kadal lu.

The "crocodile-thing" (*saibri lu*, or *kadal¹ lu*) is made in the form of a crocodile and must be carved out of wood from the *enau* (*Mimusops Browniana*) or *sirisup* tree.



FIG. 41. *Maid le* operating with a *saibri lu*, after a sketch by Mr J. Bruce.

The sorcerer prepares it by wrapping the head and neck with *damereb* fronds (this tree is like the sago palm); he next inserts the snout into a crocodile's tooth. A string is plaited of *damereb* leaves, one end of which is fastened to the tail and the other to the head of the crocodile. When he wishes to operate with it he anoints it with *ager²* sap, and at low water he takes it to the north-west side of the island where coral is plentiful on the reef and inserts into the tooth a substance called *nem sus*; "this is a thick, brown, leathery, flower-shaped substance that is found growing among the coral, and is considered to be very poisonous when inserted in any way into the body" (Bruce).

After having prepared the *saibri lu* the *maid le* visits the place where his victim lives, and with a great deal of posturing he points the model and a "spear"³ at the person or the house (fig. 41), uttering an incantation, and in order to make it potent he must, at the same time, earnestly think of the person's name. The *zogo mer* are:

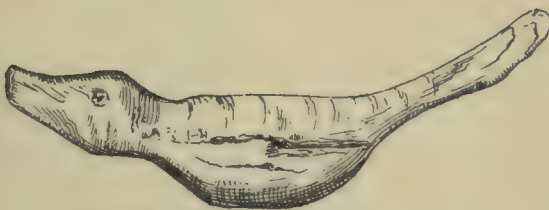
¹ I have here adopted Mr Bruce's spelling, Mr Ray prefers *kodal*; *saibri* is probably the correct Miriam name for the crocodile, *sibara* is the Kiwai word.

² Mr Bruce speaks of this as a tree; the only *ager* with which I am acquainted is an aroid (pp. 6, 9).

³ Mr Bruce says "a spear," the only spears I know of are fish-spears and dugong-harpoons, an arrow is drawn in fig. 41.

Gamui mabal mabal! Into body go go!
Gitaia mabal mabal! Into hands go go!
*Kokoea mabal mabal!*¹ Into head go go!
 (repeated)

The sorcerer then goes home and hides the charm in his thatch. The charm is supposed immediately to bring excruciating pains on the victim. The crocodile's tooth causes vomiting, coughing and choking, as it is supposed to stick in the victim's gullet and to be continually turning round. The victim's body is racked with pain and sores break out on his body, which gradually cause his death.

FIG. 42. *Saibri lu*.FIG. 43. *Kodal*.

The *saibri lu* is also placed in gardens to keep thieves from stealing the crops, for if a thief walks over the ground where this ceremony has been performed, or where the charm is supposed to be secreted, he will suffer from all kinds of running sores and eventually die unless the charm is counter-spelled. This can be accomplished in two ways: a banana leaf is folded up and filled with water and (1) the charm is either broken up and the fragments dropped into the water, or (2) it is simply washed with the water; this makes it inoperative and the stricken person immediately begins to recover. This is a very effective deterrent against thieving and is much practised. Gasu (12 B) is considered very powerful in this kind of *maid* and his services have been frequently employed. The foregoing information was obtained from Mr Bruce.

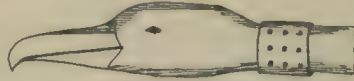
Mr Bruce sent me two specimens of a *saibri lu*: one (pl. XXI. fig. 2) was made of soft wood, the upper part only is painted red except the head which is red all over; it is also decorated with one tuft of feathers at the nape of the neck and another on the tail. It is 49 cm. (19½ in.) in length. A reddened model of a crocodile's tooth accompanied it, and is shown in the figure. The other (fig. 42) is of hard unpainted wood, 363 mm. (14¼ in.) in length. Fig. 41 is after a sketch by Mr Bruce illustrating the manner in which the *maid le* holds the charm and the arrow, the man is represented in the former nude state, with his hair in ringlets, *ed*.

Fig. 43 is a representation of a crocodile roughly blocked out of a twisted piece of hard wood, 31 mm. long. It was said to have been brought from Kiwai. I could not discover for what purpose it was used, it may have been a *saibri lu*, but it was simply called "*kodal*"; the crocodile is a Kiwai totem (Vol. v. p. 189).

¹ Mr Bruce says that the *zogo mer* were in the dialect of the Gumu le, i.e. of islanders to the west, Masig, Waraber, etc. The Mabuiag equivalents would be *Gamuia*, *Getia*, *kuikia ngapa*.

Waridub maid lu.

One form of magical apparatus consists of a staff, *maid lu* or *maidilu* (magical object), carved at one end to represent the head of a large hawk, *waridub*. The

FIG. 44. *Waridub maid lu.*

specimen illustrated by fig. 44 was made by a sorcerer, *maid kem le* out of *taul* wood; it belonged to Masak (Sebeg, 4 c), and the information concerning it was obtained from his son, Ulai. Masak was a *maid kem le* and belonged to the *Beizam boai*.

The *maid lu* was wrapped round with leaves and sprigs of *babud*, *ibam*, *watu* (*Homalonema*), *ager* and *gobagoba*. A leg bone of a man was roasted and scraped and the powder wrapped in a banana leaf, then roasted again and rubbed over the *waridub*, as well as over a crocodile's tooth which was tied with *damereb* (pp. 228, 231) to the collar behind the hawk's head. Probably tufts of cassowary feathers were inserted in the square holes of this region. The name of the person to be injured was mentioned over the *maid lu*, which was finally placed in an evil-scented *ager* (pl. VI. fig. 7) in the bush. The patient was intended to have an accident such as dropping some burning wood on his foot, or running something into himself, "then sore he come, medicine no cure." If this happened Masak would say, "Ulloa, me make him that thing," and the man would recover should he remove the crocodile's tooth from the *maid lu*, and immerse the latter in the sea, but probably any water would suffice.

FIG. 45. *Waridub maid lu*, or Hawk-headed sorcery stick.

I collected a *waridub maid lu* (fig. 45) in Mer in 1889, which I gave to the British Museum; it is 70.5 cm. in length. The hawk's head has a white face, with yellow mouth, the back of the head and the ring round the eye and face are black. The carving at the other end is white, but the three grooves are yellow. There are five rows of incised triangles on the top of the head.

Isau mani.

When someone has a grudge against another he employs a *maid le* to kill or torture the individual by excruciating pains by means of an image of a man or woman, as the case may be, carved out of *zemar* wood and coated with beeswax, *isau mani*; or the *maid le* may do this on his own account.

After the *mani* is prepared the *maid le* goes to the person's house secretly in the night-time. If the victim to be operated upon should be sitting beside the fire outside the house, as is generally the case, the *maid le* takes the figure in his right

hand, points it towards the victim, and strikes tragic attitudes by raising his legs and steps as if he were walking on his toes, pointing the *mani* towards the victim and repeating the following incantation all the while, the words of which assist in furthering the injury he wishes to inflict:

<i>Mama nali.</i>	Thou stay there.
<i>Ma tabakeam!</i>	Thou come!
<i>Ma tabakeam!</i>	Thou come!
<i>Dudum,—ma tabakeam!</i>	Quick,—thou come!
<i>Ma bakeam Beigem!</i>	Thou go to Beig ¹ .

Or it may be rendered: "This is you yourself here (Tom), You come! You come! You come quickly! You go down below (or "you go under the earth")." "Quick—you come" is given in an imperative tone of voice, with a long pause after the "Quick."

When this ceremony is finished the *maid le* presses the figure to his breast, covering it with his arms, as if to preserve it from injury, and hurries to his own house with it. He places it in the thatch of the roof directly over where he keeps his house-fire burning. The heat of the fire gradually melts the wax, and as it melts the victim, whom the *mani* represents, begins to sicken and waste away. When the *maid le* wishes to cause pain to his victim, he takes the figure down and pricks the ankles, knees, and elbows with the point of the spines of a sting ray; or employs small thorns, *geseker*, taken from the vine of the *ketai* tuber; or he uses the fin-spines, *gibra seker*, of the *gib* fish, which are very poisonous. He usually kept on this torturing for a long time. Finally, if he wished to kill the person, he took the *mani* to Umar pit², twisted off the head and threw it and the body into the sea; in this case the victim was sure to die.

Should the *maid le*, or his employer, have again become friendly with his victim, before having had recourse to the final ritual, the *maid le* went through another ceremony, employing a counter-spell to take away the destructive power that he had put into the *mani*, and then he destroyed the latter.

It is not necessary that the *maid le* should see his victim when he goes to put a spell on him, the pointing of the *mani* towards the house, within which the victim is, being sufficient.

Mr Bruce, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing account, kindly had two *isau mani* made for him (pl. XXII. figs. 1, 2), which he presented to the Cambridge Museum. Fig. 1 is a representation of a man, 305 mm. (about 1 foot) high. It is black³ all over, with a red line at the insertion of the hair; the mouth, hands and navel are also red. The necklet of the *mani* should have been made from the frond of the *damereb* tree, which is obtained from New Guinea (this is evidently the *damap* of Mabuiaig which is also imported from New Guinea, and employed for an analogous purpose, Vol. v. p. 198, fig. 28). Cassowary

¹ Beig, or Beg, is the place supposed to be underneath the island and the sea and is the resting place of the spirits of the dead when going to or returning from the island of Boigu, their real home.

² The spirits of the dead dive down to Beig at Umar pit, this being the most westerly point of Mer.

³ The wax, *isau*, obtained from the nest of the small wild black bee, is quite black in colour.

feathers were used in the model as *damereb* was not procurable. The necklet gives choking pains to the victim. The band round the waist is made of the same material and is employed to cause pains in the abdomen. The eyes of all *mani* are represented by spirula shells (*idaid*, this is also the name of the nautilus), they are supposed to cause pain by screwing or boring into the eyes of the victim. The ridge, *mus dari*, on the head is a sign of mourning (p. 153).

Fig. 2 is a representation of a woman, 266 mm. (10½ in.) high. It is black all over, has a leaf band round the neck, and a *bisi* petticoat is tucked up between the legs as a sign of widowhood (p. 157, fig. 19). The image is so made as to indicate the sex of the victim.

Madub.

A *madub* is a wooden image of a man which makes men "crank." Several men may own one. When required for use it is decorated with feathers and wrapped in leaves of certain plants; two pieces of bamboo are lashed to the trunk of a tree and the *madub* placed between them.

A *madub* makes people shake as if they had malarial fever, and appear as if they were drunk. A friend would lay hold of a man in this condition, place him on the ground, pour fresh water on his chest and on his back, between his shoulders, and force him to drink some; the patient "can't speak, mouth he fast."

The *madub* represented in fig. 46 is carved to represent a man with but a single leg whose hands are clasped over his chest. It is 19 cm. in height. There are traces of red paint on the face and in the grooves bounding the arms, the chest is reddened.

Paim zogo; to render a person insane.

The owner of this *zogo* has the power of making people permanently or temporarily silly or insane. Mr Bruce says this has been practised on many people, but they do not consider it a calamity when anyone is so afflicted. Certainly there is no bad case of insanity amongst the Torres Straits Islanders generally, most of those whom he has seen on the islands who are not quite normal, may be described as of weak intellect.

Werer a gem kerar tonar zogo; to make one hungry and lean.

The *zogo* that makes people hungry and lean consists of a small cairn of stones and shells which is situated at the western corner of the Government reserve or garden at Umar. The *zogo le* here carried on his practices secretly, and all we know is, that he touched the stones when he desired to make the people of a village hungry or lean. Then these people were affected with extreme hunger, and, no matter how much



FIG. 46. *Madub.*

they ate, they always felt hungry and their flesh began to waste away, although their strength was still retained, unless the ban was continued too long. The flesh-wasting is called *gem kerar*. Dysentery is another result of the *zogo*. Misoa (Baur 1 A) and Tibi (Baur 1) are the *zogo le*.

There are certain seasons, such as April and May (after the north-west monsoon, or turtle season), when the people are in poor condition, and also about September and October, owing to food being scarce. They are at their best at the turtle season, and when new garden produce is ready.

When Mr Bruce was clearing the reserve for a garden he could not get the children actually to touch the *zogo* shells or stones, but they carefully wrapped leaves round each stone or shell before removing it. I too have noticed precisely the same dislike of directly touching certain sacred stones, and when such were brought to me for sale they were carried carefully wrapped in leaves.

Constipation zogo.

The *zogo* of Wiwar in Dauar, when properly prepared has the power of causing constipation, and the person affected will die if the power of the *zogo* is not taken away by cleansing it with sea-water, placing a leaf of a *gebi* tree on the stone, and pouring water over it. The *zogo* consists of a round boulder of sandstone about the size of a pumpkin. The *zogo* is prepared by the *zogo le* placing his excreta on the stone and uttering an incantation in which he mentions the name of the person he wishes to injure. According to Mr Bruce old Lui (26 A) is the only living man who knows how to prepare the *zogo*. An old woman named Gibra (15 c) was believed to have met her death recently through passing close to this *zogo*; shortly before she died her friends visited the *zogo* and found it had been prepared, but by that time it was too late to perform the counter-charm.

Wiwar.

A *wiwar*, or *zole*, was a natural or more or less carved stone which was employed in nefarious magic to make people sick or to kill them, but most frequently it was placed in a garden in order that it might do harm to anyone who stole from that garden, in which case no one could feel aggrieved if the *wiwar* performed its function. I was given the following suppositious example. If a man's son got ill and he told his father he had been stealing, the latter went round to the old men to make inquiries; when he came to the right man he said "My son come along here?" "Yes, he come to my garden." The father would reply, "Very good you put thing belong you (meaning the *wiwar*) in the sea." The man whose garden had been robbed would take the *wiwar* and put it in the sea, and the boy would recover when the stone became cold. Another account is given in my informant's own words. "*Zole* stop in bush, man he keep him in bush. Another man he sick; someone think, 'I think *zole* make him sick.' All [I do not know whether these were the friends of the sick man only, or if, as is more probably the case, they were his friends and the owner of *zole*] take young coco-nut and split him over *zole* and sick man all right."

Apparently it was only necessary to cool a *wiwar* by wetting it with water of any kind to bring about the recovery of the person who had been made ill by the stone; in the latter case the water in the young coco-nut had the desired effect.

The following *wiwar* were natural stones: pl. X. fig. 9, an irregular, truncated, triangular pyramidal block of granitic rock, with rounded edges; 187 mm. long and 115 mm. high. Fig. 10, an elongated rounded boulder, larger at one end than the other, a granite or syenite porphyry (probably a granophyre); 203 mm. long. Fig. 11, a rounded conical stone with a flat base, of igneous rock; 140 mm. high. Fig. 12, a rounded oval boulder of foreign rock; 126 mm. long. Fig. 13, an irregular lump of pyromeride, or nodular rhyolite, more or less completely converted into jasper (this class of rock is always extremely ancient and is usually of Archæan age), this is an uncommonly fine geological specimen and like all the foregoing rocks is foreign to Mer; it measures about 185 by 150 mm. The *wiwar* in the British Museum (pl. XXVIII. fig. 3) is an unworked granitic boulder, with several natural crescentic grooves, it is somewhat pyramidal in form with a triangular section; 21 cm. high.

A carved *wiwar*, obtained by me at Dauar in Dec. 1888, is also in the British Museum. It consists of a piece of pumice, 11 cm. long, carved to represent a human face (pl. XXVIII. fig. 4); a small hole is bored in the top of the head, and a wide V-shaped groove is cut in the back. It was used for producing sickness.

Uris kerem (pl. XIV. fig. 2) is the head of a female green turtle (*Chelone mydas*), realistically carved in fine volcanic ash, 304 mm. long. It was called a *zole*, but was said not to be a *wiwar*; one informant called it a *zogo lu*. It was kept in the bush, and prepared with medicine, *puripuri*, for the purpose of making people ill.

Doiom, for malevolent Magic.

Azo (Ulag, 12), a former deacon, is, according to Mr Bruce, very powerful at working magic with a *doiom* (cf. p. 201), and gained the credit of killing many men, women and children from Korog to Sebeg. His first wife quarrelled with him, her father and mother assisted her and spoke angrily to Azo. He went to Ulag and took a *doiom* thence to Korog, where he made a *zogo*; immediately afterwards his wife died, then her father died, and also nearly all the people as far as Sebeg. By this time the Ulag men thought he had obtained ample revenge and besought him to bring the *doiom* back to Ulag, which he did, and the sickness immediately stopped.

Magical Objects of uncertain Use.

Gwa lar (pl. VII. figs. 1—3) is the most elaborate stone carving that I have seen in Mer, it is a fairly accurate model of the skull of a fish (perhaps that of a fish, *lar*, called *gwa*, of which I have no record). It is about 46 cm. long and 31 cm. high, is carved out of a large block of coral (*Porites*) and is painted red, white and blue, a native has painted on it GUALAR. There is in the National Museum at Washington, U.S.A., a ruddled skull of a fish (pl. VII. fig. 4) from the Andaman Islands which bears a very close resemblance to the Miriam effigy. I am indebted to Professor Holmes for this photograph which Dr G. A. Boulenger, of the British Museum, has identified for me as

a member of the family Carangidæ or Horse-mackerels, probably it is a *Seriola*. The species of this genus are often called "Yellow-tails," some grow to a length of from 122 cm. to 153 cm. (4—5 ft.), and are esteemed as food.

I have no doubt that the Miriam artist endeavoured to represent a skull of a similar fish. The use of this object could not be discovered, but I was informed it was kept in a banana garden, probably it was originally a fish charm.

I saw at Mei a representation of a *daumer*, or Torres Straits pigeon (*Carpophaga luctuosa*), carved out of fine grained volcanic ash and realistically painted, but I could not obtain any information respecting it.

A head with very long teeth, carved out of vesicular lava (pl. VII. fig. 6) is a fragment of a *zole* which came from Las. It measures 145 × 125 mm.

Pl. XII. fig. 9, a flattened ovoid piece of volcanic ash with incised lines representing a human face, 185 mm. long. It was termed a *zole*, but no further information was obtained; it was found, together with a burnt and broken *Cassis* shell, on the top of a large rock at Kimkop or Kingob.

Pl. XIV. fig. 4, is a nearly circular plano-convex piece of lava carved with a central boss, three concentric circles and five bands that radiate from the second circle to the outermost one. The boss is red, the two inner circular grooves are white, the ridge between them is red, the outer border of the second circle is red bounded by white, as are the five radiating grooves; the third, or peripheral, circle is red and is not grooved. The stone measures 255 × 235 mm. in diameter.



FIG. 47. *Ziai neur*.

There are two pieces of rude sculpture representing *Ziai neur*, "South-west girls," in Eid's (Ormei, 25 B) garden at Damud in Dauar, which are carved out of vesicular lava (fig. 47 and pl. XIX. fig. 4). I was informed that when a man had a "bad sick" the owner was asked to prepare the "*zogo*"; this he did by wetting the images with the fluid of a green coco-nut, and the patient would recover. One informant said they were *wiwar*, in which case the illness would probably have been caused by the effigies. Mr Bruce has, however, since informed me that there is no *zogo* connected with them, neither are they attributed with any healing powers or with doing anything, so far as he could ascertain. No one seems to know their history, or where they came from, they only

know that their forefathers revered them and therefore they are *lu babat*, a term which may be best translated as "ancestral objects." Another *Ziai neur* has already been described on p. 56, this has been definitely identified by Mr Bruce and he states it is supposed to be one of the *Ti neur* referred to in the story of Markep and Sarkep.

Jukes describes and figures (*Voyage of the Fly*, I. p. 185) a reddened wooden female image that he saw at the village of Kerriam in Erub. It was 168 cm. (5 ft. 6 in.) high, ears and arms were wanting but there were holes for their insertion; a conventionalised petticoat was carved round the waist. "Just before it on the ground were several old large murex-shells, and behind it was arranged a series of split cocoa-nut shells, in a semicircular form." I showed this picture to some Miriam men who called it *siriam*, and they told me it had the power of leaving its place and depositing itself on the beach, and if any Miriam *le* went across to Erub, it was buried out of sight. A Nagir man told me it was an *augud* connected with a *kwod* and associated with *maid*, he said that before going to fight they sang about *augud*; the figure was not put in a canoe lest it should capsize.

Therapeutic magical Processes.

The practice of a father bathing in the sea in order to assuage the labour pains of his wife was mentioned on p. 106. It is evidently a case of contagious sympathetic magic, as the husband by cooling himself in the water is supposed to reduce his wife's temperature and render her more comfortable. The soothing and cooling effect of vicarious bathing in the sea as a means of alleviating pain and sickness is also seen in the practice of immersing sorcery stones, *wiwar*, in the sea to cure a victim of *maid* (p. 233).

Nam zogo.

According to the account given to Mr Ray by Arei and Pasi (Vol. III. p. 247), when people wanted to enlist the help of the *nam zogo* (p. 51) in averting sickness, they proceeded as follows. First of all the women plaited a basket, and the men said they would see *nam zogo* the following day. A great quantity of garden produce was collected and brought to the *nam zogo* ground as a present for the *zogo le*. Those who brought the food chewed the sweet-scented lemon-grass (*Andropogon nardus*), went up to the house in which the *zogo* were, and asked the three *zogo le* to make ready. The three *zogo le* opened the door of the house and swallowed spittle (probably they too had been chewing the lemon-grass). One *zogo le* took the basket which had been prepared for the occasion and all three entered the house. The *zogo* was placed in the basket and the mouth was fastened by a skewer. One man held the basket by one lip and another by the other lip and, bringing it outside the house, placed it on the ground. The food was piled close by. A number of men stood around the basket and the *zogo le* told them to remove the skewer from the basket; the *zogo le* moved aside so that the men could see the *nam zogo*. The *zogo* appear to have been first anointed with the water of a green coco-nut and immediately afterwards with turtle oil. The *zogo* were first watched by one *zogo le* and then by two. A flat place was prepared on the top of a tree on which the *zogo le* placed the *nam zogo*. They put white

heron feathers on the hands and feet (presumably of the *nam zogo*). The consultants said to the *zogo*, "Do not bring this sickness to us." The men bathed in the sea. They (probably the *zogo le*) did something to their bodies¹ and returned the *nam zogo* to their house.

Kekuruk.

The general Miriam name for medicine-men was *lukup zogo le*; but only the *Zagareb le* could practise *kekuruk*. All the patients who desired this treatment were taken to the village of Ulag (or Wao), but should their complaint be such that it was necessary for them to undergo a thorough course of *kekuruk* they and their friends would be housed and fed there. Mr Bruce was informed that a house at Ulag was reserved for the use of patients and their friends, but he is not certain about this and suspects they have concocted this from what they have seen of the hospital in Thursday Island; but no doubt they did get sleeping accommodation, as they are very hospitable to one another. Ordinary patients required to be operated upon but once or twice; sometimes a patient would remain as long as three days and was treated twice a day, morning and afternoon, but in stubborn or chronic cases the time might be extended to several days.

The friends of the patient interviewed the *kekuruk le* to find out when he could receive their sick friend and operate on him. Should he think it advisable to accept the patient he appointed a day, which was generally the following day, but he could decline to have anything to do with the case.

The friends carried the patient, or took him by canoe, to Ulag; they also took food with them, not as payment to the *kekuruk le*, but to supplement the food they would receive at Ulag; this was piled round a bamboo inserted in the ground. The *kekuruk le* saw the patient, questioned him concerning the nature of his sickness, and then arranged when the ceremony was to begin, the time being usually in the morning or afternoon. The *kekuruk le* had an assistant called *arsei le* who helped him in various ways and acted as a messenger between his master and the patient's friends; for after the *kekuruk le* had an interview with the latter, it was considered unprofessional for him to give orders direct.

The *kekuruk le* prepared his own medicine with the exception of scraping up the kernel of a coco-nut which was done by the *arsei le*. He collected leaves of *sem* (*Hibiscus tiliaceus*), roots of *kusi bager* (*Kæmpferia galanga*), and stems of *sus sus* (an *Euphorbia* that grows on the sand-beach). The *arsei le* provided a very small green coco-nut, *gadu*, which contained water but no kernel, the top of the nut was cut off and replaced to serve as a lid. All these were carried down to a spot a few yards in the bush, at a distance of about a hundred feet from where the patient was to be placed, and arranged in order on a large banana leaf.

The *arsei le* scraped with a shell the kernel of an old matured coco-nut and put the scrapings on a banana leaf, these he took to the *kekuruk le* and rubbed them

¹ The original is very obscure here. Probably it should read: The *zogo le* undressed the bodies of the *zogo* (i.e. took off the feathers) and returned the *nam zogo* to their house.

all over his body. When this was concluded the *arsei le* was told to go to Ulag to fetch the patient and see that he was placed in the proper position.

The patient was conducted to the sand-beach at Lewag pit and the *arsei le* directed the friends where to place him. They heaped up sand to form a slightly raised pillow for his head; his feet being turned in the direction from which the *kekuruk le* would approach they should be kept close together, but if he was too weak to accomplish this, they were tied together. The spaces between the big toes and the second toes are called *teter pone*, or *feet eyes*, and constitute an essential element in the ceremony, as the *kekuruk le* must on no account take away his glance from these two spots, for whatever he did he must look steadfastly through these two openings between the toes or there would fail to be a cure. If the patient was too sick to be left alone, his brother or other near relatives lay on the sand to serve as a cushion for the sick man's head.

As no one might see the advance or actions of the *kekuruk le*, the patient and his attendants if there were any, closed their eyes, and the *arsei le*, the friends of the patient, and all other men, women and children retired to Ulag. "*Kekuruk le* no make him sick man good, suppose other fellow see" (Myers).

When the *kekuruk le* knew all was ready he emerged from the bush carrying the medicines on the banana leaf, which he placed on the beach at his feet, standing some distance from the patient. He slowly picked up some *sem* leaves, chewed them, spat the juice into his hands, which he rubbed well together and spread the juice all over his body. Then he chewed the *kusi bager* and *sus sus* together, spat the juice on his hands and began to make movements as if he were anointing the sick person. All the time he stood he made passes with his hands over his own body and, as it were, wafted the influence towards the sick person. Now and again, he brought his hands to one side of him and, standing on the opposite leg, worked his arms and the free leg with an up-and-down movement, and then he chewed some more medicine and again repeated this ritual of movement. The high stepping movements of the legs and the motions of the body are stated by Mr Bruce to have been very graceful and suggested the idea that the *kekuruk le* was about to dance. The *kekuruk le* took sips from the young coco-nut, taking care to cover up the aperture with the lid. As he did this he squirted the water and juice of the chewed plants from his mouth towards the patient in little puffs of spray, but he was careful not to let the patient hear any sound; indeed he made no noise whatever during the whole performance, which lasted for nearly half-an-hour. This must have been an awesome experience for the patient, who was prohibited from opening his eyes all this weary time. Meanwhile the *kekuruk le* never took his eyes off the *teter pone*. When he had to pick up his medicine from the banana leaf he never looked down; and when he was supping from the coco-nut he was careful to hold it on one side of his mouth so as not to obstruct his view. These were the only ungraceful acts in the ceremony, all the other movements being carried out with leisurely ease. Finally he lifted the medicine off the banana leaf with his left hand and took the leaf in his right, posturing and making passes over his own body and towards the patient. Sometimes he worked himself up into a frenzy, passing his hands down his arms or legs as if he were trying to pull some-

thing off which was resistant, but which finally glided off the finger tips and was wafted towards the sick person. The movements then made were like an attempt to pull off a very tight-fitting garment or glove. The expression of his face showed evident relief when the action was seemingly successful.

When he had finished making the passes he removed the banana leaf, coco-nut and medicines to the bush, all the while keeping his eyes fixed on the patient's feet, and never ceasing to posture. As soon as all the apparatus was placed out of sight, and he himself was hidden in the bush, he clasped his hands and steadily made a vertical sweeping movement with them before his face and brought them down to his right side, then clapped them, and called out in a loud strident voice "*Sirar! Sirar!*"¹

The patient sometimes fainted at the close of the ceremony. On hearing the cry of the *kekuruk le*, the *arsei le* and the friends of the patient ran up to the latter and assisted him, or carried him to the sea where they bathed him. The patient was fed at Ulag, where he able to eat.

The *arsei le* then went to attend on his master and removed the appliances; after the *kekuruk le* had bathed in the sea he was supplied with food by the *arsei le*.

The *kekuruk le* then visited the patient to ask him if he were better; should this not be the case, he was informed he would be required to go through another course in the afternoon; but if he were better he took up his sleeping-mat and went home.

According to some accounts obtained by Dr Myers, the *kekuruk le* rubbed the invalid down with a mixture of *sem*, *kusi bager* and *sus sus* prepared with coco-nut oil; but most of his informants agreed that the purpose of the visit was merely to enquire into the patient's health and to take food with him. One man declared that the sufferer, however ill, became well and that no repetition of the treatment was ever necessary. Another maintained, "Sick man he all right little bit. He make him all right easy. One day he more strong, another day he more strong. He no get well one day. *Kekuruk le* come along beach in morning, he come along afternoon, that one day. Next day he come along all same, he see sick man, he say '*Sirar*,' he rub sick man four times, s'pose him no well. *Kekuruk le* he ask sick man, 'How your body? How your sick?' Two day, sick man say, 'I no feel bad now, I feel fine.' *Arsei le*, he look out for (i.e. waits upon) *kekuruk le*, time *kekuruk le* stop there. No good *kekuruk le* cut anything. S'pose he cut him garden, he no make man good². *Arsei le*, he cut him."

The *kekuruk le* was paid only according to results. No cure, no pay. Should he have been successful in making a cure, the patient assisted by his friends made presents of what were considered as valuable articles, such as bows, arrows, spears, boars' tusks, or ornaments; very little food was given.

When the *kekuruk le* was about to perform, notice was given to the people, and the sick person's friends took particular care that no one witnessed the ceremony, for

¹ This is termed *sirar mer* or *sirar abger* (tern-talk or tern-call). "*Sirar sirar*" is the cry of the *sirar*, a tern (*Sterna Bergii*). This bird is supposed to have the power of taking away sickness; it is not revered in any way, as the natives will kill and eat it like any other bird.

² This taboo on cutting anything whilst engaged in curing a patient is an interesting example of sympathetic magic.

should anyone see the operator the cure would be spoilt, and the looker-on was liable to contract the disease. A dog or other animal passing between the operator and patient would nullify the cure. These were some of the safeguards for the *kekuruk le*, for if the patient did not recover, he asserted that some *nog le*, stranger, looked on and thus caused the persistence of the disease or even the death of the patient.

The *kekuruk le* was invariably a *Zagareb le* and he was connected with the *u zogo*. The office was passed on from father to son or heir. The *arsei le* was also a *Zagareb le*, and a relative of the *kekuruk le*; he may be regarded as an apprentice to the latter. He generally took the place of his master when the latter was too old to operate, for it required a strong, lithe man to carry out the ceremonies.

Waleba of *Zagareb* (whose name unfortunately is not recorded in the genealogies) was a famous practitioner of former days, and had the reputation of having brought back to life many persons who had been given up as dead and whose spears, clubs and other treasures had been broken up according to custom (p. 159). Gasu (*Ulag*, 12 B), who was at one time *arsei le* to Waleba, is considered a very powerful *kekuruk le*. Mr Bruce has seen Gasu go through the performance and he considers it the hardest form of work ever undertaken by a Murray Islander; at the end of his posturing, and other labour, he was bathed in perspiration and thoroughly exhausted. The *kekuruk le* had no special dress or ornamentation, but was nude, as were all the other men before the advent of the white man.

There was no connection between *maid* and *kekuruk*. All local groups had their *maid le*, who were reputed to possess the power of inflicting diseases and of curing those they had injured. Even the *kekuruk le* might be a *maid le*, but in his capacity as *kekuruk le* he was more in the confidence of the people as a true physician, since he was not engaged in curing what he had himself induced.

This is the nearest approach to hypnotism that we heard of in Torres Straits; but it should be remembered that the patient had his eyes closed during the whole of the operation, and there is no indication that he exhibited any hypnotic symptoms, but it was certainly a treatment by suggestion.

By far the greater part of this account is derived from information supplied by Mr Bruce.

XIV. RELIGION.

By A. C. HADDON.

THE term "religious" is applied in this memoir to those actions which depend for their efficacy upon appeal to, or reliance upon, something which is extrinsic to the performers or to the objects employed (p. 193). This non-human influence is usually of a more or less personal nature, and is approached by means of words or ceremonies, and operates through a ceremony or object, or directly on the petitioner or those in whom he is interested, or it accomplishes those aims which he desires. The extrinsic influence can also act on its own initiative. Usually an emotional relation is established with this extrinsic influence or power. Under this heading are also placed those rules of conduct and avoidance, the breaking of which is liable to punishment directly by extrinsic powers or indirectly through their human representatives. Finally, I have not hesitated to place morality in this section, although, so far as I am aware, it has no extrinsic sanction in Torres Straits with the sole exception of the displeasure of ghosts or spirits when their surviving relatives have not been fairly treated (pp. 127, 252).

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SOME RELIGIOUS CONCEPTIONS OF THE MIRIAM.

Nothing is more difficult than an attempt to discover and interpret the religious ideas of an undeveloped people, and I cannot profess to have succeeded in my efforts in this direction among the Miriam.

Regard is very generally paid by nature-folk to an object which has been associated with a parent, or an immediate or even a remote ancestor. This regard is probably primarily one of personal affection, but it becomes merged into an appreciation of age, which passes into a reverence for antiquity—not perhaps so much on account of the

mere age of the object as for the associations which have been transmitted in connection with it. These compound sensations are undoubtedly experienced by the peoples of whom we have adequate information, and we find that they are not lacking from the Miriam, the two terms *lu babat* and *ad* representing two phases of this conception.

Lu babat.

The Miriam describe as a *lu babat* anything, valuable or otherwise, which is revered on account of its having belonged to an ancestor. Thus, a drum or a personal ornament which has been handed down from generation to generation is termed *lu babat*. Similarly, anything pertaining to local folklore is *lu babat*, for example Gawer (p. 28), Barat (pp. 40—42), Irado (p. 51), and the *Ziai neur* (pp. 56, 236) are not *zogo*, but, as the forefathers of the present Miriam revered them, they are *lu babat*. I do not understand the meaning of the term, at first sight it looks as if it might signify "father's thing," but this phrase would be *abera lu* in the ordinary Miriam, *baba* is used for "father" in the vocative only.

Ad.

The word *ad* signifies something old and traditional with the idea of a sanctity that is associated with ancient wont, thus certain folk-tales are *ad*, or anything about which such a legend is told, and all sacred and magical stones are *ad*.

Belonging to a more complex series of ideas are the words *zogo* and *agud*, both of which have a distinct relation to the religious life of the natives.

Zogo.

In order to gain some definite conception of the meaning of the term *zogo*, which is so very much in evidence in the beliefs and usages of the Miriam, it will be necessary to briefly compare the objects for, and the occasions on, which it is applied.

Rain is the *zogo* of the larger group of the *Zagareb le* (pp. 195, 196), but the stone images, *doiom*, that were employed were not *zogo*, though the sentences spoken when preparing them were *zogo mer* (p. 198).

Particular objects were *zogo* such as Nauareb *zogo* (p. 210), the *zogo baur* (p. 214), the *sira-sira zogo* (p. 219), the turtle-shell effigies of the *nam zogo* (pp. 51, 213). The *zogo* object may be kept on a *zogo* ground like the *birobiro zogo* (p. 211), but it is not always easy to determine whether any particular object is a *zogo*; or whether the spot itself, which may be termed a shrine, is *zogo*; or whether the whole operation, including the objects employed, is *zogo*, probably the latter is the most usual conception; examples of this are found in the *wag zogo* (p. 201), *enau zogo* (p. 202), *Sewereat u zogo* (p. 206), *kaba zogo* (p. 207), *zab zogo* (p. 217), and the *lag zogo* (p. 218).

As a rule the *zogo* were employed for useful purposes, such as the *meidu zogo* for tabooing gardens (p. 248), but the object of the *paim zogo* (p. 232), *werer a gem kerar tonar zogo* (p. 232), constipation *zogo* (p. 233), and *uris kerem* (p. 234) were in each case of a malevolent character. The *Walet zogo* was certainly partially anti-social so far as our limited information is concerned. Of a divinatory character were *Tomog zogo* (p. 261) and certain (perhaps all) prepared skulls, more especially those which were associated with the *Bomai zogo* (p. 267). The *Bomai-Malu zogo* were collectively

a socialising religious factor in the life of the people. The *Meket zogo* (pp. 273, 276) was connected with war.

All the *zogo* belonged to definite groups of individuals and only certain men officiated at the *zogo*, these were termed *zogo le*, and the office appears to have been hereditary in particular families, passing from father to eldest son. According to Mr Bruce a general name for a "medicine man" (sorcerer) is *lukup zogo le*.

Unfortunately we have very little information as to the ceremonies connected with the various *zogo*, but I have given all I could ascertain in the account of each *zogo*. The usual phrase in describing the ritual is *zogo ikeli*; *ikeli* is a transitive verb with an inanimate object (Vol. III. pp. 66, 70), signifying "one makes one thing¹" (Vol. III. p. 77). Doubtless in every case *zogo mer*, "*zogo* words," are spoken. It is very remarkable that, according to Mr Bruce, it is only in the case of the recently devised *enau zogo* (p. 203) that the Miriam language is employed². He informed me that the *zogo le* employ a foreign language and thus can only guess at the meaning of the words of the songs and *zogo mer*; but as a matter of fact, he added, this does not seem to trouble them at all, since they are as earnest in using the sounds in their ceremonies as if they fully realised their meaning. The language employed is broadly speaking that of the Western Islanders, but in most cases the words have become so modified that it is impossible to translate them. It is quite possible that some of them at all events may belong to an older form of the western language than any of the existing dialects, and further it must be remembered that we have insufficient knowledge of the languages of the central islands of Torres Straits. Associated with the western origin of the *zogo mer* is the fact that so many of the natural and worked sacred stones in the Murray Islands are of foreign origin, and there can be but little doubt that the majority of these must have come from the western islands; they could not have come from Erub or Uga as these have the same volcanic origin as the Murray Islands, nor could they have come from the central islands as these are merely vegetated sandbanks; Yam then is the most easterly island from which some could have been exported. Mabudauan hill, on the mainland of New Guinea, is a mass of granite, at least 150 ft. high, and it is, I believe, the only block of exposed rock, not only near the coast, but for a very considerable distance inland, and therefore we cannot look to New Guinea as the source of these foreign stones, neither is it at all probable that they came from North Queensland.

To return to the *zogo mer*—a definite request or prayer was offered at Tomog *zogo* (p. 263) and at *nam zogo* (pp. 51, 237); so far as I could learn, the actual *zogo* of the former was a small cruciform stone, while the latter consisted of two turtle-shell effigies of a male and female turtle; but in the case of Waipem (p. 216) an offering of fruit was made to the rude image of a man in the hope of success in turtle-fishing, the unspoken(?)

¹ Mr Ray has drawn my attention to the analogous Lifu expression *nyi haze*, "make haze." A *haze* could be any object whatever which had been *nyi haze* (endowed with supernatural power; cf. Melanesian, *mana*) by the *ite tene haze* (persons possessing the power of *haze*). These persons, usually aged, received rewards from chiefs and people for exercising their powers. A ghost or departed spirit was also sometimes called a *haze*, and Roman Catholics used the word for "God." There are some analogies between *zogo* and *mana*.

² Mr Bruce's knowledge of the natives is so extensive that we must accept his statement as being substantially correct; but it must not be overlooked that the *gali wed* (p. 196) and the *doiom zogo mer* (p. 198) of the rain-making ceremonies, and the *zogo mer* employed at Tomog *zogo* were in the Miriam language.

sentiment of the *zogo le*, in this instance, may be regarded as of the nature of a prayer. The *irmer gali*, addressed to the *irmer zogo*, were distinctly prayers (p. 196), but the *zogo mer* uttered when a *doiom* was being prepared were of the nature of statements. The *zogo* of Bomai and Malu were prayed to (p. 281).

The preparation of a *zogo* had to be carried on secretly, and respect had to be shown towards it. We read in the folk-tales that Maiwer (p. 46), who scolded the *nam zogo* (who were described as like *mar* or *lamar*, that is "ghosts" or "spirits"), was punished with an appropriate death by turtle at the instigation of the *zogo*; Terer (p. 31) was killed by the *zogo le* for beating a drum, which action disturbed them when they were "making" a yam *zogo*, and it also showed a lack of respect for the *zogo*; and in the Malu saga we are told, "This fellow is a *zogo*, we can't cut him up" (p. 34). I was informed in 1889 that, "Miriam no eat Beizam, he *zogo* belong we." Marau (Mad, 5), who is still living, was disfigured by a disease that destroyed his nose as a punishment for sacrilege in entering the *pelak* and putting on the sacred Malu mask, *zogo Malu* (p. 227). The Bomai and Malu masks were so sacred that only the initiated might see them. The following incident bears this out. I persuaded Wanu and Enoka to make cardboard models of these masks, as the originals were destroyed long ago. One evening Enoka brought them to me very carefully covered up. Next morning I incautiously showed them to a woman who happened to be about; later in the day Enoka came to me in a great hurry and besought me not to let any woman see them, and, of course, I respected his wish. The ceremonies had not been held for about a quarter of a century, the people are all Christian, and yet even now a woman may not see cardboard models of the sacred masks. Although Gabi (Ulag, 12 c) owns the Malu drum, "wasikor" (pl. XVII. fig. 1), he dare not beat it, probably because he has never been initiated; during the rehearsals we had of the ceremonies the drum was always beaten by Gasu (Ulag, 12 b), who can be seen holding the drum in fig. 1, pl. XXVIII. Gabi would not sell the drum at any price. The initiates were warned under penalty not to divulge the secrets of this cult (p. 311).

It was only in cases where the *zogo* consisted of perishable effigies (pp. 51, 213) or masks (p. 289) that they were contained in a hut, to which the special name of *pelak* was applied.

✓ When anything behaved in a remarkable or mysterious manner it could be regarded as a *zogo* (pp. 33—38).

So far as our information goes the following were not regarded as *zogo*: *ad giz* (p. 258), *doiom* (p. 194), *bager* (p. 202), *sokop madub* (p. 207), the two Dogai masks (p. 209), love charms (p. 220), or fish charms (p. 217). I think that *maid* proper (p. 225) was not regarded as *zogo*, but *zogo mer* were said; some malevolent shrines were *zogo* (pp. 232, 233).

From the foregoing enumeration it is evident that rain, wind, a concrete object, or a shrine can be a *zogo*; a *zogo* can be impersonal or personal; it belonged in a general way to particular groups of natives, but it was the particular property of certain individuals, the *zogo le*, who alone knew all the ceremonies connected with it and therefore the rites were confined to them; the "making" of the *zogo* was usually more or less secret, and in no case might women be present; the *zogo* was always treated with

great respect and sacrilege was punished, either by human or by spiritual means. I do not know how the term can be better translated than by the word "sacred." A *zogo* may therefore be a sacred object or place, the rite was sacred, as were the words that were uttered. The aspect of the natives towards any *zogo* was most distinctly religious. Naturally corresponding to the idea of sanctity was the recognition of sacrilege, when anything was done which was contrary to the rules and regulations of the *zogo*. We must be careful, however, not to carry the idea of sanctity too far, for the *zogo le* were not sacred men, they were merely the "*zogo men*," those who alone had the right to perform the ceremonies; as no idea of sanctity was ever associated with them, so far as we could discover, they cannot be regarded as priests. As there was always a great difficulty, usually an insuperable one, in learning the *zogo mer*, it is justifiable to regard them as being sacred. The term *zogo* is usually employed as a noun, even when it might be expected to be an adjective. Mr Ray (Vol. III. pp. 55, 56) points out that adjectives are derived from nouns by reduplication; in his vocabulary (Vol. III. p. 165) he gives "*zogo-zogo*, a. sacred, tabu, holy." Personally I have only once (p. 286) come across that word and I am informed by Mr Ray that it was introduced by the translators of the Gospels, who also employ the term *zogo le* for "priest" and *zogo meta* for "church."

Agud.

The word *agud* is not of frequent occurrence, it was described to me as the "big name of big *zogo*." The *nam zogo* was called *agud* (p. 51), as were Bomai and Malu and their masks (pp. 282, 286). Among the Western Islanders the word *augud* was primarily used to denote a totem (Vol. v. pp. 2, 153—186, 367—378), but when hero-cults became general the scope of the term was enlarged to suit the new ideas. In Mabuiag, Kwoiam was designated as *adi* (Vol. v. p. 67), and occasionally he was spoken of as *augud*, but no record of him or of his emblems occurs as a totem in the genealogies of the people of Mabuiag collected by Dr Rivers (Tables 1—15 B, Vol. v. p. 120). In the Muralug group of islands he was regarded as the "big *augud*," and the "*augud* of everyone in the island" (Vol. v. p. 80). Two crescentic objects made by Kwoiam were also called *augud* (Vol. v. p. 71). Sigai and Maiau, the two heroes of the Yam-Tutu people, who belong to the same cycle as Bomai, were prayed to as "*augud*"; their turtle-shell effigies in the form respectively of a hammer-headed shark and a crocodile (Vol. v. p. 376) were also called *augud*. We may safely conclude that these heroes and objects were termed *augud*, which as we have seen is the same name by which a totem was called, because the natives did not know by what other sacred name to call them. It is therefore not surprising that a very important *zogo*, such as the *nam zogo*, which consists of effigies of two turtles, or the masks employed in the Bomai-Malu cult should be termed *agud*, which is the eastern equivalent of the western *augud*. But there is no satisfactory evidence in the Murray Islands of the term *agud*¹ having been applied to a totem, and we have no evidence whether it is an indigenous or borrowed word.

¹ In looking over some unconfirmed notes obtained in 1889, I find the following entry: Harry (Zaub, 2) and Mapa (? Las, 14) belonged to *saibri* (crocodile) *zogo*; Pasi (Giar Pit, 27), *Gadodo* (Las, 14) and Torik (? Toik, Warwe, 16) to *beizam* (shark); Baton (Areb, 15) and Mamai (Warwe, 16) to *tabu* (snake) *zogo*. In any case Pasi and Toik are *Beizam boai*. I have also this memorandum, "Agud=Malu, Nam *zogo*, Lewer *zogo*, U *zogo*, Kaba *zogo*, Omai, Beizam," which suggests that there was a recollection that these had once been equivalent to the western *augud* or true totems. I suspect that certain *zogo* were originally totems.

TABOO.

Gelar is the equivalent term of the western *sabi* and may be best translated by taboo. The word *sab* is also frequently employed in the Murray Islands for the same idea; I am unable to say whether this term has been introduced from the west, or whether, as is more probable, it is a word common to both groups. I have nothing to add to the general remarks I made on this custom in Vol. v. pp. 269, 270; the conditions being the same for the Miriam as for the Western Islanders.

The system of taboo was not at all marked among the Miriam in ordinary affairs. The taboos for women apparently were mainly of an alimentary nature (p. 105). The marriage restrictions have been detailed by Dr Rivers (pp. 121, 122). The most important taboos were those relating to religion, such as the preparation of *zogo* and more especially in all that appertained to the Bomai-Malu cult (pp. 244, 283, 310). The initiates were solemnly warned not to divulge the mysteries, and all the secrets were jealously guarded and any unauthorised inquisitiveness was severely punished. As an example, I was informed in 1889 that the personality of the three *zogo le* at the Malu dances held at Las was supposed to be unknown to the women, although women and children could witness the ceremony, and should any woman divulge the name of one of the *zogo le*, "she die that night."

Taboos of Places.

Jukes says that at Erub, "here and there along the shore, both on the beach and out on the sand-flats, were erected tall bamboo poles with long streamers of leaves attached to them, but what was their object we never could discover. I am inclined to believe they are mere boundary marks between the different fishing grounds of each village or small group of huts" (*Voyage of the Fly*, I. p. 182). I made enquiries on this point at Erub and found these poles were called *seker*; they were *gelar* signs and were erected to preserve fishing rights, since foreshore rights extended over the adjacent reef (p. 167). Similar marks were sometimes erected on Mer.

Certain sacred grounds, *kòp*, such as the spots, *au kòp*, where the Bomai-Malu *pelak* stood at Dam, Gazir and Kiam, were permanently tabooed to women and non-initiates; other grounds were temporarily tabooed while ceremonies were in progress, and when this was the case *gelar* signs were prominently exhibited to warn off intruders. I had models made for me (fig. 48) of *Malora gelar* (taboo of Malu) signs, *wis*, which were erected at each end (Lewag pit and Wabkek) of the sandbeach shown in pl. XXIII. fig. 2, when the Bomai-Malu ceremonies were in progress, and they were erected at Kiam when the Bomai mask was housed there.

Jukes experienced this custom in Erub, he says (l. c. I. 294): "The houses here [Keriam] were now all closed, and the largest, in addition to boards across the door way, had a trellis work of bamboo over it, and outside stood a tall board, cut into the profile of a man, like a sentry, standing before the door. They called this figure maddoop [*madub*]. They say Keriam was now 'galla' [*gelar*]; and to my farther questions about this 'galla,' Saggob answered, 'coskeer backiam, keimear menna' [*kosker bakeam*,

kimiar mena], 'wives go, men remain'; as if the place were now tabooed and not to be approached by the women."

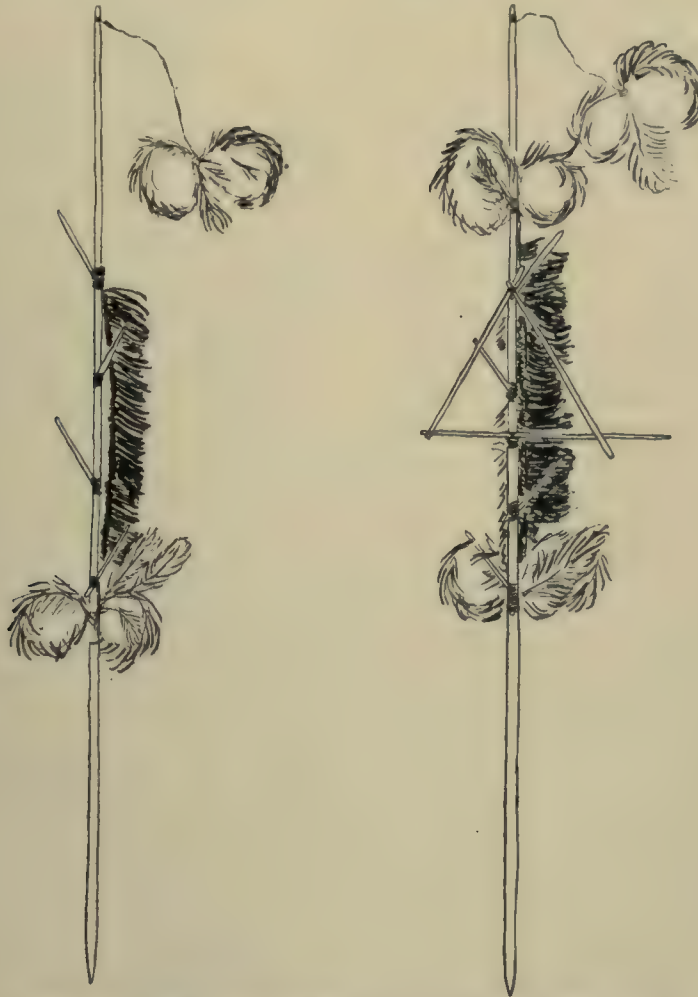


FIG. 48. Models of gelar signs, *wis*, for the Malu ceremonies¹.

Since the introduction of writing into the islands, the natives are fond of putting up notices of various kinds, a practice which they have copied from the English notice boards in Thursday Island. I brought away one from Mer which was placed in some "bush" that was reserved for the use of women.

¹ Models of *wis*, consisting of thin sticks painted red; a fibre is tied on to the upper end of each, to the free end of which is fastened a white feather knot; to the central portion of the shaft is attached a fringe of shredded sago-palm leaves, *bisi*, dyed red, above and below which in one specimen, and only below it in another specimen, is a white feather knot; along the same portion of the shaft are four equidistant upwardly projecting wooden spikes, which point alternately right and left, and in one specimen an equilateral triangle, formed of sticks, is placed, apex uppermost, behind the upper half of the fringe. The originals were made of bamboo and probably the fringe consisted of women's petticoats, *bisi nesur*, imported from New Guinea; it is probable that the real posts were 4.5 to 6 m. (15—20 ft.) in height, or even taller.

GELAR PEIKE
Prohibition this

No¹ *Koseker* *tebtē* *abele* *uteb* *a* *pako* *gaire* *kebi* *neure* *ese* *nerut* *Kimiar*
Only women only this place and also many little girls if any man
*datupi*² *abele* *gelaar* *tarimele* *abi* *saz*³ *2* *selen* *ese* *nole* *netat* *mebege* *dorege*
infringe this rule chief man he two shillings if not one month in-work
ikeli *Mamusi* *doge*.
do Mamoose with.

I am indebted to Mr Ray for this translation.

The spelling and distribution of capital letters are copied as in the original.

As a second example I add one recently given me by Mr Ray, which he copied from a board on a tree in Yam island, it is in the Miriam language:

KAR GELAR PEIKE WBIM GAIR LEM MABO LAM
True rule this for them or for you many sun ? day ? from or leaf
KAKA KO ZAMN⁴ WABI⁵ KARA NEI SEKI.
I will summon you my name Seki.

Taboos on Gardens and Garden Produce.

Various objects were placed in gardens to prohibit theft, each district or group of people appears to have had its own particular *sab* or *gelaar* token, and doubtless the customs appertaining thereto also varied slightly.

The *meidu sab zogo* is the only one of which we have an adequate account, it had nothing to do with any other *sab* or *zogo*, and it was confined to the Waier *le* and to the Peibre *le*, Warwe *le* and Eger *le* on Mer. Kriba (Waier, 29) is the *sab le* for Waier. Tibi (Baur, 1) is the *sab le* for Peibre, and Mamai (16) for Warwe.

The legend connected with Meidu has been given on p. 13; according to Mr Bruce, she was the founder of this custom, as the *meidu* fruit sprung from her. The *meidu sab zogo* is employed for closing up gardens to allow food to accumulate in quantities. When the *zogo le* puts *sab* on the garden the owner must not go near it or take any food from it until the *zogo le* remove the *sab*. Each *zogo le* performs the ceremony for his own people; should the *zogo le* put *sab* on his own garden, he wears a kernel of the *meidu* fruit suspended from his neck, to show all men that he is himself under *sab*.

Before the ceremony of putting *sab* on any place, the owner collects as much of the food as he can from the garden and piles it into a heap. When this is done the *zogo le* meets the owner and his friends at the place to be put under taboo. The *zogo le* then enters the garden and erects a small shrine with *sab*, or drift wood taken from the sea, he

¹ No *Kosker* might mean "naked women."

² Lit. "step over."

³ Word not known, it may be *zeku* of the Gospels, meaning offering, tribute, which in this instance might mean a fine, but more probably it is the English "says."

⁴ An original spelling of the English word.

⁵ Syntax is wrong. *Wabi* should precede *samn*.

puts a kernel of the *meidu* on it, and thereby closes the ground, warning all people to keep from trespassing or taking food from it.

When the *sab* is taken off the land, a feast and distribution of food takes place, of which the *zogo le* gets his share. On removing *sab* the *zogo le* goes to the shrine, takes away the *meidu* fruit and dismantles the shrine, at the same time saying to the owner:

Ma mara lewer ero sab emetu eseamuda.
You your food eat taboo now finished.

Meidu sab has nothing to do with the ceremony called *kebe le*, which also closes up the gardens in order that food may accumulate (p. 166).

The *gar sab*, or mangrove taboo, appears to have been employed only for yams. I was informed in 1889 that when a man wears it, he may not eat ordinary yams, but might eat *ketai* yams, sweet potatoes, and other food; the *gelaar* was removed when the north-west monsoon sets in. This *gelaar* was imposed by the old men of the *Kòmet le*. The wearing of the token advertised the taboo. The *gar sab* is an embryo of a mangrove coiled into a spiral (pl. X. figs. 4, 5),—fig. 49 is a sketch, in its natural condition, of the embryo of *Rhizophora mucronata*, a species of mangrove (the *gapu*, as it is termed in Saibai, is used in that island for divining the sex of an unborn babe, Vol. v. p. 196).—I collected one specimen (pl. X. fig. 4) in 1889, and gave it to the British Museum, it is about 115 mm. ($4\frac{1}{2}$ in.) long. A second specimen, collected in 1898, is now in the Cambridge Museum, it is 7 cm. in height, the widest of the four coils is 67 mm. in diameter, a number of *Abrus precatorius* seeds are stuck on to the last whorl by means of beeswax, to which also a small white cowry is attached (pl. X. fig. 5).



FIG. 49. Embryo of a Mangrove; about one-half natural size.

The *Beizam boai*¹ put a large conch shell (*Megalatractus* or a Triton) as a taboo sign, *maber sab*, for large gardens, and they worked in small gardens for their food in the meantime. A *wagai* leaf (*Mimusops browniana*) was also hung up in gardens for *sab*.

According to Mr Bruce the *maiwei sab*, which is considered the most important, was connected with Bomai; it is practised at Areb, and at Giar on Dauar. Wanu (15 A), Wali (15 c), and Baton (15) are the *maiwei sab le* for Areb and Pasi (27) for Giar. The *gar sab*, *bodo sab* and *iwar sab* were also associated with Bomai. I do not know what *maiwei*, *bodo* or *irwar* mean.

In 1889 I obtained a piece of wood, about 23 cm. (9 in.) in length, carved to represent a sea-snake, *pagi* (pl. XXI. fig. 13). *Pagi* were placed in the gardens of the *Dauer le* or *Dauar le* (I am not quite sure which, but I think it is the former) as a sign of *gelaar* to warn off thieves.

¹ In 1889 I was informed that the *maber* was employed by the *Zagareb le* for *gelaar*.

Taboos on Names.

The taboo on the name of a relative by marriage has been described by Dr Rivers, p. 99 (cf. also Mr Ray, Vol. III. p. 61). A person who is subject to a taboo on the name of a relative is also debarred from uttering the name of that relative if it should be the name of an object. Thus if the relative in question were named after an animal, the person subject to the taboo would have to find some other name for the animal (p. 100).

Food taboos.

There appears to have been very little in the way of food taboos among the Miriam, those just mentioned in regard to gardens are merely restrictive measures having an economic basis, being of the nature of a close season. More of the character of true taboos are the prohibitions of certain articles of food to pregnant women (p. 105). It is not certain that the *kèsi* were subject to any food taboos. In 1889 I was informed that "Miriam no eat *beizam*, he *zogo* belong we," but probably this prohibition is no longer in force. Mr Bruce says distinctly, "Their laws as regards totems seem to be very elastic, there does not appear to be anything tabooed to the men in the way of food, but only to the women. A *Beizam le* would kill a shark, a *nam zogo le* kills and eats turtles, a *daumer le* can kill and eat the Torres Straits pigeon, and a *tabu le* would kill a snake. The only food that was tabooed was in connection with certain ceremonies and for short periods," these have already been described.

MORALITY.

I have very little to add to the remarks I made when dealing with the morality of the Western Islanders (Vol. v. pp. 272—277), as there does not appear to have been any essential difference in this respect between the Western and the Eastern Islanders.

Rules of conduct were sufficiently defined and as far as possible enforced not by a special judiciary or executive body but by public opinion. Ultimately recourse might be had to the services of the *maid le*, or to physical force put into operation by the old men through their delegates, or by friends of the injured party; but these were merely the recognised means by which public opinion maintained its authority when the disapprobation of public opinion was ineffectual. In these respects the Miriam did not differ from the Western Islanders, but the Bomai-Malu fraternity possessed in the functionary known as Magur (p. 311) a powerful mechanism for punishing those who had fallen into the displeasure of its prominent members. We do not know whether the office of Magur was hereditary or who could occupy it, but this masked executive officer undoubtedly was a source of terror, for it was impossible to withstand him as he possessed the weight of authority.

There is no reason to believe that what we speak of as sexual morality was regarded in a different manner than that which obtained in the western islands. In other words, there was probably considerable license among the unmarried girls, provided that the rules concerning prohibited degrees were not infringed. The injury inflicted on a

husband through the adultery of his wife was regarded as theft, the same word, *eruam*, "to steal," being employed for both offences. Some men kept a bundle of sticks, *kupe*, as a tally of their amours, and tallies by means of notches on certain possessions were also kept (p. 295). The cult of the Waïet *zogo* (p. 279) appears to have been an organisation for irregular sexual intercourse, and the *zogo le* of the Bomai-Malu cult are stated to have abused the power which their position gave them to coerce girls and women.

The domestic relations between married people appear to have been distinctly good. Squabbles naturally occur between husband and wife, and, owing to their lively Papuan temperament, blows may be struck or wounds inflicted, but the ill-feeling soon departs and they make friends again. On account of the excitement that it causes and of their love of publicity, the Miriam are very fond of summoning one another before the local court, the majority of cases being for wife-beating (p. 180); but on the whole the women are very well able to take care of themselves. Quiet affection is noticeable between married persons, and the fathers outvie the mothers in demonstrative love of and care for the children.

I have already (p. 189) drawn attention to the bad character attributed in the past to the natives, but this seems to have been much exaggerated.

GHOSTS AND SPIRITS.

The word *mar*, or more frequently *lamar*, was used to express a shadow, reflection, ghost, or spirit, but it does not follow that anyone of these ideas was confounded in the native mind with one of the others.

The Western Islanders appear to make a distinction between the ghost, *mari*, of a recently deceased person and its later stage as a definite spirit, *markai* (Vol. v. pp. 355—358); but I have no evidence that this was done by the Miriam. Perhaps the Miriam *mar* (which has the same significance as the Western *mari*) designates the earlier stage of disembodiment, and the word *lamar* (which Mr Ray—Vol. III. p. 150—suggests is an abbreviation of *lela mar* "man's spirit") signifies the later stage; in which case it would be strictly equivalent to *markai*, which Mr Ray—Vol. III. p. 110—thinks is derived from *mari kai*, i.e. *kazi*, "spirit person" (*kazi* is usually abbreviated into *ka* in compound words).

There is another word, *keber*, which is employed very frequently in connection with death and with funeral ceremonies, but it is very difficult to gain a conception of its exact significance. Anything that is actually connected with a man in life or after death, no matter how insignificant, is looked upon as a part of the deceased, one might even consider that the natives regarded it as a part of the *lamar*; such an object is called *keber*. The pantomimic funeral ceremonies were termed *keber*, and the performers who personated ghosts were called *keber le*. Although the *keber* ceremonies were introduced from the western islands I did not come across that word in any western island. The theft of the *keber*, that is of the desiccated body or any part of it, or of any object connected with a grave (p. 149), made the ghost restless and inclined to trouble his living relations (p. 128). Mr Bruce defines the term *keber* as "the spiritual essence of the deceased."

Mr Hunt states that, "The spirit of man could leave the body during sleep and wander at will, as in dreams. In sickness or death the spirit might go to distant friends and warn them of what was happening" (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* XXVIII. p. 8).

Dr Myers was informed that the *mar* or *lamar* goes out of a person during sleep to visit places or people, which accounts for dreams about them.

Every individual had a ghost that left the body at death, and was liable at night-time to haunt its former abode for two or three months, during which time it fed on the food placed around the *paier* (pp. 135, 140) and might attempt to enter its former home (p. 148). When displeased the ghosts could cause strong winds to destroy gardens or break down houses, or inflict injuries on living persons or disturb them in some way (pp. 127, 128). On one occasion when a large concourse of people was at a "play," the house of the widow Neke (1 A) caught fire. The "play" took place at a considerable distance from Neke's place, but it was considered that the *lamar* of her deceased husband, Arus, was angry with her for her levity in witnessing the festivity and had burnt down her house. That a ghost might be energetic is further shown by the Miriam adjective *marmar*, wild, which like many adjectives is formed by the reduplication of a noun, and by the negative adjective *markak*, spiritless, tame.

Eventually the ghosts depart (*badmirida*, lit. "are lost sight of"), they are supposed to dive into the sea at Umar pit, the most westerly point of Mer, in order to reach Beig. Beig is located under the island and the sea. When the sun sets, they say, "*lem e baraigida Beigem*," "sun he dives down to Beig," as it is supposed that the sun goes under the sea when setting and returns underneath the island and sea to rise again in the east. Beig is supposed to be populated by the spirits of the dead in going to or returning from the mythical island of Boigu. There is an island to the north-west, opposite to the mouth of the Mai Kussa river, which is called Boigu, but it is doubtful whether in former days a Murray Islander ever went to that island. Boigu is the final home of the *lamar*. The Western Islanders also believed that ghosts went to an island to the north-west, which they termed Kibu (Vol. v. p. 355), but there is no evidence that Kibu was another name for Boigu, as I have often heard them refer to the latter island by its ordinary name.

I was distinctly informed that no animal, plant, or inanimate object had a *lamar*; but as the *lamar* of certain female stone effigies, *bager* (p. 202) were supposed to keep fires from going out, we must suppose that these spirits did not belong to the stone itself, but were associated with the carved images, which would thus be fetishes. The *Beizam* shrine was described as resembling a *lamar* (p. 270).

When a man was very ill, *gingim*, and was lying by the fire being about to die, his *lamar* passed into a *lamar ebur*, that is, some animal which might appear to the onlookers and would be regarded by them as a death omen; or which, appearing after death, would be considered as the temporary resting place of the newly liberated *lamar* (p. 256); the natives dread these "ghost animals," which are regarded in much the same manner as is the "fetch" by European peasants. The ghost of a dead man was embodied in a cuckoo, *kriskris* (*Chrysococcyx lucidus*) in the legend of the *Nam zogo* (p. 48).

Shooting stars, *maier*, are departed spirits, and have the power of causing sickness

and death, especially in cases where the deceased's children have not been well looked after. It is believed that sickness or a death will take place in that village towards which the star falls, the actual time of its occurrence does not matter. It might be months or years subsequently to the appearance of the meteorite that a death took place, in which case some would attribute it to the falling star, while others would credit the death to a sorcerer, *maid le*. Of small shooting stars they have no fear, as they regard them as novices who have not yet learned how to use their powers, but are getting lessons from the older spirits. On fine starry nights it causes great amusement to the people, when they are in their canoes or sitting round their village fires, to watch the shooting stars, especially the feeble ones, at which they will laugh, and they deride them as if they were the futile efforts of living beings. But when a large star falls there is a change in their note, then they exclaim a long drawn "Ai! ai!", and a sudden hush falls for a time, until a small star falls, when the laughing begins again.

If we accept the western view of the distinction between a *mari* and a *markai*, we may assert that the Torres Straits Islanders feared the ghosts but believed in the general friendly disposition of the spirits of the departed. In Mabuia the corpse was carried out of the camp feet foremost, or else the ghost would find its way back and trouble the survivors; and the food and water of which the deceased had been partaking was placed on or near the platform on which the corpse was laid, otherwise the ghost came back for them and would thus annoy and frighten the relatives. If the food was found scattered the next morning, the people said the ghost was angry and threw the food about (Vol. v. pp. 248, 249). The ghost of a recently deceased person is particularly feared by the Miriam and it haunts the neighbourhood for two or three months. We have native testimony for tracing the origin of the elaborate funeral ceremonies to this belief.

The Miriam perform as many as possible of the necessary ceremonies in order that the ghost of the deceased might not feel slighted, for otherwise it would bring trouble upon the relatives (p. 127). These ceremonies, some of which might take place months after the last death (they appear to have been annual among the Western Islanders, Vol. v. p. 252), seem to consist among the Miriam of two main elements: (1) the dramatisation of a legend accounting for various practices connected with funerals and the journeying of ghosts to the mythical island of Boigu; in this ceremony the chief performer, who personated Terer, the spirit messenger, was supposed to take away the ghosts of the dead to Boigu (pp. 131, 132). (2) The pantomimic representation of recently deceased persons in their character of denizens of the spirit world. We are informed that the illusion of the personification of ghosts by men was almost perfect, more especially as it was assisted by the implicit belief of the women and children that the performers really were ghosts or spirits (p. 141). There is no doubt that the latter ceremonies comforted the mourners; probably the main reason was that it reassured them that the ghostly relatives would no longer haunt the living, but apart from this there may have been a real pleasure in the idea of the return of the ghost, for we must not forget that these affectionate people kept their dead in remembrance as far as their limited resources permitted.

TOTEMISM.

It is a very remarkable fact that while totemism exists among the Western Islanders, it is entirely absent as a cult from the Miriam. We have no information concerning the other Eastern Islanders but probably they agreed in this respect with the Miriam. From every point of view, except the linguistic, the relationship of the Miriam is very close to the Western Islanders, and as there can be no shadow of doubt that the former were at one time in the totemic stage, it is desirable to attempt an explanation of its disappearance.

We may certainly regard the totemism of the Western Islanders as of unknown antiquity. It presents most of the features that this institution possesses amongst the less advanced Australians; but at the same time it exhibits some indications of decay, and there can be little doubt that eventually it would have succumbed to the hero-cults that had already been introduced. Perhaps one explanation of its persistence in the Western Islands may be found in the prevalence of totemism in the adjacent district of New Guinea, a district with which the islanders were perfectly familiar, and with the natives of which they had trading relations. With the exception of the Kauralaig (Vol. v. p. 2) their connection was much less intimate with the natives of the Cape York district of Northern Queensland, and how far these people were in a typical totemic stage we have no means of knowing. The Yaraikanna, at all events, possess what are usually termed "personal totems" (Vol. v. p. 193)¹. The continual intercourse in various ways which the Western Islanders had with different islands and with New Guinea would probably tend to maintain the totemic system, whereas the Miriam being so isolated would be more likely to develop socially independently of their neighbours.

Dr Rivers has shown (pp. 169—177) that the Miriam have in various social matters progressed a little in advance of the Western folk; for instance, the territorial grouping of the totem clans has resulted in village exogamy; the dual organisation of the Western clans was already much weakened, but it has quite disappeared from the Miriam; and there is also a tendency towards simplification in the kinship systems of the two peoples from a

¹ Dr Walter Roth has informed me that the four primary divisions are now practically ignored, and consequently for the most part forgotten in the immediate vicinity of the Mapoon Mission Reserve on the Batavia River, Carpentaria Gulf Coast of N. Queensland. The Rev. N. Hey had fortunately collected these terms some few years ago and Dr Roth was able to confirm his notes from a Pennefather River boy. "(1) Nama-kurgi—relative to that portion of country where grows the *nama* tree, the bark of which is used for thatching huts. (2) Ba-kurgi—country named after an inlet *ba*. (3) Lar nganama, after the *lar* (*Acacia Rothii*) which grows there. (4) Ba-maraugo, named for the same reason as (2). These four names are," so far as Dr Roth could make out, "those of geographical localities. Each of these four localities had its own main camp, each such camp forming a unit or primary division of the population occupying this portion of the coast. These main divisions had a most important bearing where marriage was concerned, because people could only marry according to them. The wife took up her abode at her husband's camp, but their offspring, as they grew up, belonged to another camp.

<i>Male</i>	+	<i>Female</i>	=	<i>Child</i>
Nama-kurgi	+	Ba-maraugo	=	Ba-kurgi
Ba-kurgi	+	Lar-nganama	=	Nama-kurgi
Lar-nganama	+	Ba-kurgi	=	Ba-maraugo
Ba-maraugo	+	Nama-kurgi	=	Lar-nganama."

Here we seem to have a clear case of territorial exogamy which has replaced an older type of ordinary totemic exogamy. This tends to indicate that typical totemism was breaking down in North Queensland.

thoroughly typical classificatory system and perhaps on the whole the Miriam are slightly the more advanced, i.e. simplified. The maternal uncle does not appear to be so important a person among the Miriam as among the Western Islanders. Mr Wilkin has pointed out (Vol. v. pp. 284, 289) that the gardens were much more valued in Mer than in Mabuia and that the customs with regard to land were much more strict in the former island than in the latter. All of which tends to prove that social evolution has occurred among the Miriam to a greater extent than it has among the Western Islanders.

The only probable relics of totemism are :

(1) The hereditary nature of certain *zogo* with which are associated definite magical performances (pp. 174, 195 ff.). The presumption being that these originally were rituals connected with the increase or control of totems by the elders of the respective clans (cf. Vol. v. pp. 182—4). That these should be associated with villages or places, quite as much as with families, is only in accord with the assumed replacement of totemism by village exogamy.

(2) The following groups with animal names: *Omai le* (Dog men), *Daumer le* (Pigeon men), *Geregere le* (*Geregere*-bird men) and *Wazwaz le* (*Wazwaz*-shark men) (see p. 287), suggest totemic clans. Dr Rivers has discussed this view (p. 173) and I, too, am of opinion that these names, which appear to be solely connected with introduced dances (p. 282), cannot be considered as totemic so far as the Miriam are concerned. There is nothing unusual in giving dances or songs to individuals or groups whose property they thenceforth become. The erratic distribution of these *le* does not appear to have any special significance.

Marriage between members of a totem clan in the same island are strictly prohibited among the Western Islanders (Vol. v. pp. 161, 235), indeed clan exogamy is a characteristic feature of totemism. As a test of the possibility of marriage between members of the groups which bear animal names we obtained the following information. Membership descended from father to children, thus Harry Mamoose, like his father Ano (Zaub, 2) belonged to the *Beizam boai* and was also *Omai*, *Geregere*, and *Daumer*; Ano married Mera (Wed, 10 B) who was *Zagareb, Omai*. Malgi (Er 18 A) was *Zagareb, Omai*, he married Kepu (Giar, Dauar, 28) who was *Beizam*, their son Enoke is *Zagareb, Omai*, he has no children of his own, so he adopted Dawita (15) who is *Zagareb, Omai*. Sesei (Areb, 15 A) was *Beizam, Daumer* (and a *tami le*), he married Wesegur (Keweid, 3) also a *Beizam, Daumer*, their son Wanu married an Erub woman, having no children he adopted Wanu or Kailu junr. *Beizam, Daumer, Geregere*, when his father Sagiba (Areb, 15) died. These examples show that marriage took place between members of the same groups as well as between those of different groups. In each of the above cases of adoption, the boy was adopted by a man belonging to the same group as the boy's father (cf. also p. 175 and Vol. v. p. 152).

In discussing the term *agud* (p. 245) reference was made to certain animals which might be regarded as totemic, as being associated with people; but if that was the case in the past, it has no practical effect at the present time, nor can this disuse—assuming they were once of social importance—be attributed to the influence of European culture. The animals in the following lists appear in recent times to have been simply associated with the dominant cult, whatever their past history may have been.

Agud belonging to the *Beizam agud*: *beizam* (shark), *iruapap* (hammer-headed shark), *kumazer* (a kind of ray, *Pteroplatea*?), *tapim* (sting ray).

Zogo ebur (*zogo* animals) belonging to Bomai and Malu: *omai* (dog), *daumer* (Torres

Straits pigeon, this is eaten now, but was said not to be formerly), *geregere* (a bird in New Guinea), *karor* (frigate bird?), *kaubèt* (a black bird that lives on the sand-beach), *sir* (reef heron), *tòle* (a small grey bird), *wamer* (frigate bird), *kodal* (crocodile, this does not occur on the Murray Islands), *olai* (the *zogo nei* for the turtle-shell turtle), *goai* (tree frog), *kitoto* (a locust or tree cricket), *isi* (centipede).

Zogo lar (*zogo* fish) belonging to Bomai and Malu: *galbol* (whale), *bid* (porpoise). The natives naturally do not distinguish cetacea from fish.

The whale, turtle and porpoise were forms assumed by Bomai (pp. 33, 34). Malu was a shark-man (p. 43) but the mask that represented him (p. 291) was a hammer-headed shark, and on this mask were effigies of *sir*, *tòle*, *goai* and *isi*. Malu dancers represented *omai*, *daumer* and *geregere*. The *kitoto* was employed for divination in connection with Bomai (p. 267). Taking these facts into consideration, there is nothing definitely totemic about these animals.

(3) A few wooden or turtle-shell models of animals that are western totems have been obtained from Mer. I obtained a turtle-shell effigy of a ray, *tapim* (Vol. v. pl. XI. fig. 7), which is now in the Cambridge Museum, it is 104 mm. long; and I collected a somewhat similar specimen in 1889, which is in the Oxford Museum (pl. XXIV. fig. 4), it is ovoid in form, without fins, and the tail is broken off, it is about 48 mm. long. There is also in the Liverpool Museum a well carved wooden model in the round of a basking-shark¹, 171 mm. in length (pl. XXIV. figs. 6, 7), which was collected by J. Duncan-Stoward in Mer before 1885. A painting (pl. XXIV. fig. 5) on the upper surface of a stone top in the Cambridge collection represents a man wearing a typical Torres Straits shark-mask. The occurrence of these specimens proves nothing; they may have been imported from the west; or they may be of local manufacture, in which case they may be relics of a totemic cult; or they may have been made for the purpose of what we term homœopathic magic.

(4) Mr Bruce informed me that in the intervals between the various *keber* ceremonies (pp. 139—144) certain persons were dressed up to represent a beast, bird, or fish (p. 144). They advanced from the west towards the spectators, that is in the opposite direction from that in which those who were enacting the *keber* ceremonies proceeded. The latter we know personified the ghosts of the deceased moving towards the west on their way to Boigu, the spirit world. Therefore we may conclude that the mummers in animal guise were intended to indicate spirits visiting mortals, and it is permissible to regard them as representing spirits returning from Boigu in the form of their animal totem; this particular embodiment may be explained by the characteristic conservatism of funeral practices in general, and does not necessarily imply a persistence of totemism as an actual cult.

(5) The ghost of a recently deceased person usually appears to the survivors in the form of some animal, *lamar ebur*. The *kiau*, a kingfisher, is to be regarded mainly as an omen bird which has the power of seeing ghosts and warns the living, irrespective of their sex, of their approach; but it is also a particular *lamar ebur* of women. There are, however, certain animals that appear immediately before or after the death of members of particular groups of individuals. After mentioning the term *lamar ebur*, the word *nogu* was added by my informant; evidently this was intended to express the appearing of the *lamar* of the deceased "outside" of the body, that is, as a ghost.

¹ *Cetorhinus maximus*; I am indebted to my friend Dr H. O. Forbes for this identification.

The lamar ebur of the men.

Beizam (shark) for the *Beizam boai*, *omai* (dog) for the *omai le*, *daumer* (Torres Straits pigeon) and *geregere* (a small bird) for their respective *le*. For a *tami le* there would appear: *goai* (tree-frog), *tapim* (black locust, or sting-ray), *kitoto* (orange coloured locust). The *kuskus*(?) and *tabu* (snake) belong to the *Zagareb le*. I was informed that an *omai* will appear when Harry Mamoose (Zaub, 2) dies, he is also a *Beizam*, *Geregere le*; a *tabu* will appear for Enoka (Er, 18 A), he is also *Zagareb*, *Omai le*; and a *goai* for Wanu (Areb, 15 A) who is also a *Beizam*, *Daumer*, *Geregere le*.

The lamar ebur of the women.

Saper (fruit-eating bat, *Pteropus*), *dibadiba* (dove, *Ptilinopus swainsoni*), *seprumur* (a small bird, like a *dibadiba*, with bluish body and red breast), *koko* (pigeon, *Geopelia humilis*), *tòle* (a small grey bird), *kiau* (kingfisher, *Halcyon sanctus*), *ti* (sun-bird, *Nectarinia australis*).

The idea evidently is that the ghost of a person takes the form of an animal to which it is akin, and in that guise appears to the survivors. Usually it is the eponymous animal of a group with an animal name that appears on the death of a male member. In the section on Divination it will be seen that there is an intimate relation between the *kitoto* and the *Kòmet le* and *Samsep le*, who are *Beizam boai*. Women are represented by flying animals, bats and birds¹, but no relation was indicated between groups of women and particular birds. This looks suspiciously like what has been termed a "sex-totem," but I am not prepared to admit that these birds are totems in the true sense of the term.

The *lamar ebur* certainly look like vestiges of totemism, although as Dr Rivers points out, there is no definite evidence to show that these animals were ever connected with the social organisation.

The social advance of the Miriam is probably a satisfactory reason for the lapsing of totemism from the social organisation. The absence of enemies, the large amount of inter-marriage in the island, and the strengthening of blood-kinship would tend to diminish its value as a socialising factor. In other words it had been outgrown from a social point of view. From a religious point of view totemism is an impersonal, communal sort of religion; when men cultivate small gardens and become possessed of personal property a need appears for a more definite, individualistic type of religion. An ancestor-cult had appeared in Torres Straits though it does not seem to have developed very far; but the death blow to totemism was given by the introduction and growth of the hero cults. Those of the Western Islanders were grafted on totemism, the Malu cult seems to have supplanted it, probably because totemism had been weakened through other causes. Among the advantages of the new religion were the recognition of personal powers from whom help could be obtained and the welding of separate interests into a common or national religion.

¹ But the ghost of a dead man was embodied in a cuckoo, *kriskris* (*Chrysococcyx lucidus*), in the legend of the *Nam zogo* (p. 48).

ANCESTOR CULT.

There are slight traces of an ancestor cult in Torres Straits but no definite information on the subject could be obtained in the western islands, all that is known will be found in Vol. v. pp. 364—367. Thanks, however, to the efforts of Mr Bruce a little information about what he regards as a kind of ancestor worship has recently been obtained from the Murray Islands, but even he found it excessively difficult to get the people to tell him anything about it. He says :

"Certain septs or divisions of Mer and Dauar had their own *ad giz*, who are believed to be the founders of their respective septs, and are revered and no doubt were worshipped and supplicated on behalf of the needs of the sept." The word *ad*, as we have seen (p. 242), signifies something old and traditional, with an idea of sanctity; Mr Bruce adds it "signifies a god," but I think this is somewhat too definite an idea. *Giz* means "origin, base, foundation," or a "collection." Mr Bruce defines *ad giz* as "the first god, or god of the very beginning of things," perhaps "ancient of days" might be a better term. So far as Mr Bruce could discover the *ad giz* were not *zogo*.

"Some of the *ad* were warriors, others men of peace. Each *ad* has still his lineal descendant in his own sept. Although it does not now seem much of an honour, there is no doubt that formerly these men must have held a high position in their respective septs. The direct descendant bears the name of his illustrious ancestor, but it is never used in addressing them by others. The direct descendants are regarded as mere men and there is no evidence that they formerly regarded their *ad* as supernatural beings.

"The following were the *ad giz*¹ of the Murray Islands :

<i>Ad giz</i>	Headquarters	Direct male descendants
Ganomi ²	Gigred	Aii
Palai	"	Tibi (Baur, 1)
Ginamai ³	Saugiz	Kaige (Saugiz, 6)
Waguan	Ulag	Gabi (Ulag, 12 c)
Kokuam ⁴	Eger	Sager (Eger, 17)
Bom ⁵	Kameri	Debe Wali [Mere] (Kameri, 26)

"It appears that the *ad giz* were prior to the Bomai-Malu cult, and the advent of that cult seems to have had a disturbing influence whilst it was superseding the *ad giz*. Thus,

¹ Mr Bruce sent to me, for the Cambridge Museum, wooden models of the *ad giz*, which he had specially made. They are all very much alike. The face and back and vertex of the head are black, the nose and mouth are red and there is a red rim round the face, the latter is furnished with a beard, moustache and whiskers. The neck, waist and arms are red, the fingers are black and the palms red. The abdomen and legs are black. There is a tuft of cassowary feathers on the head, a whitened turtle-shell crescent on the chest, an imitation *alida* over the groin. Their heights are as follows: Ganomi (pl. XXII. fig. 3), 43 cm. (17 in.); Palai, 43.5 cm. (17½ in.); these two bear an imitation four-rayed, stone-headed club in the right hand. Ginamai (pl. XXII. fig. 4), 50 cm. (19¾ in.); Waguan, 44.5 cm. (17½ in.); Kokuam, 44 cm. (17¾ in.); Bom (pl. XXII. fig. 5), 46 cm. (18½ in.); these three carry an imitation spear in the right hand.

² *Ganume* is the Mawaia for "moon."

⁴ *Hibiscus*.

³ Mr Bruce also spells it *Gunamai*.

⁵ The western word for *Pandanus*.

Ganomi and Palai, the *ad giz* of the Palai *le* whose headquarters were at Gigred, killed many of the *zogo le* belonging to Bomai [probably these were not strictly speaking *zogo le* but *Beizam le* or members of the Bomai-Malu fraternity], but eventually they were themselves killed through treachery. On the other hand, Waguan and Kokuam were supporters of Bomai and assisted the *zogo le* by giving them their protection. These two *ad giz* belonged to the *Zagareb le* who held a prominent position in the Bomai cult, when it did get the ascendancy on the island.

"Ginamai, the *ad giz* of the Kòmet *le*, was a very peace-loving man, but he could not keep his people under control, as all his men went to Erub (Darnley Island) against his wish, where they were murdered by an *ad giz* of Erub named Robesa. As all Ginamai's men were killed he acted as a husband to all the widows. When he was consoling them and telling them he would act a husband's part, he said, '*Wa gaire kosker karim tabakeawari*' ('You all women to me come'). According to tradition he carried out his promise and bred a new race of men for Kòmet."

Our information is insufficient to determine the limits of the areas of which the *ad giz* were the head men. At all events, we find that Gigred is a village of the district of Peibre, the inhabitants of which are not allowed to take an active part in the Bomai-Malu cult, but they have to provide food for the participants; possibly this disability may be due to the earlier antagonism. Now they are termed *tebud*, or friends. The district of Kòmet, of which Saugiz is a village, is one of the headquarters of the Bomai-Malu cult. Ulag and Eger are situated respectively in the districts of *Zagareb* and *Geaurem*, their inhabitants form part of the *Zagareb le*, who provided the music and songs for the Bomai-Malu cult. Perhaps these districts represent vanished totem territories; if this be so, the *ad giz* were probably the head men of their respective groups, who seem to have been apotheosised, though to what extent it is very difficult to determine.

OMENS.

There can be no doubt that under certain circumstances many objects or actions were ominous. Unfortunately we did not record so many of these as we ought to have done, but the following will indicate their range.

If a man sneezes, *siau*, it is a sign that someone has mentioned his name, and he immediately cracks the joints of each thumb by closing on it the closed fingers of that hand (*tag itakiamur*) (cf. Vol. v. p. 361).

On one occasion, at all events, Gasu, Smoke, and others had no success when they heard a voice proceed from the cemetery at Larte as they were going on their way to catch turtles on a sand-bank.

Shooting stars are omens (p. 252).

In the folk-tales we find that when Dòg found his body did not perspire as usual, he feared something was amiss at home (p. 40).

Omen birds.

Certain birds, such as the *kiau*, *koko*, and *ti* are not only omen birds but are also ✓ *lamar ebur* that appear directly after women die, or immediately before death as omens that they are about to die (p. 257). I believe all omen birds are termed *lamar ebur*, at all events a *lamar ebur* could appear as a death omen (pp. 252, 256).

The kingfisher, *kiau* (*Halcyon sanctus*), has the power of seeing ghosts, and when one calls out "*ekwe, ekwe, ekwe*," the passer-by runs away lest the ghost should attack him or her, in which case death might ensue. When several people are going through the bush and hear a kingfisher calling, they have no means of telling who is liable to be attacked, so they all take to flight in order to escape the danger. The *lamar* (ghost) of a recently dead person is particularly to be feared as it haunts the neighbourhood where it died for two or three months. One informant thought that the *kiau* calls out to a *lamar* to attack a living person; but it is more probable that the bird is to be regarded as a friendly warner of danger, rather than as an enemy that sets a ghost on to a man. The *kiau* is also the particular *lamar ebur* of women (p. 257).

The sun bird, *ti* (*Nectarinia australis*) (p. 8), is supposed to be endowed with the faculty of foretelling events, such as when a boat is likely to arrive at the island, and how many persons are coming; this is one of the birds utilised by the Tomog zogo le. The *ti* is mentioned as guide in the story of Gelam (p. 24).

The *birobiro*, or *berobero*, is a small red migratory bird that announces by its arrival that the yams are ready for eating (p. 211).

The *miaii* is a "spirit bird" that informs the people by its cry that the banana ceremony, *kaba zogo*, has been performed and that there will be a good crop (p. 207).

The *koko* is a small red and blue bird (*Geopelia humilis*) about the size of a lark (*Alauda*). This bird, by its call "*ko ko*," lets the people know that it is going to be fine weather. When they hear its call they say, "Ah! fine weather come now." Mr J. Bruce writes that his informants told him it is never heard to call out when there is any wind, and that it never calls out whilst on the ground, but only when perched on a tree; that it never calls out when on the ground is considered to be a wonderful proof of its power as an omen. They have great faith in the *koko* as a genuine weather prophet, but one would be inclined to give it more credit as such if it called out its warning at the conclusion of bad weather; as far as Mr Bruce can make out, it cries only when the weather is fine, and prognosticates that it will continue so.

The *waru*, or *waro*, bird warns the people at night by calling out its own name, "*Waru waru*," that on the following day they will see numerous turtles swimming in the deep water. Whenever a man happens to hear the *waru* call, he gets his canoe and fishing gear ready and keeps on the look-out, as he knows that turtles are sure to come past his place. It is a small sea-bird with a long bill and legs, that frequents the beach just at the edge of the water. It calls only at night and solely during the turtle-season, November to January. The natives have great faith in its warning, and wonderful accounts are given of the great number of turtles some have seen after hearing the *waru's* call, and they thoroughly believe they would not have seen them had not the

warning been given. No doubt it stimulates them to keep a sharp look-out. *Waru* is the name of the turtle in the western islands.

The *kopei* is a small bird, with a red head and blue back and breast, about the size of a parrot. It calls out people's names as if it knew who they were. It is said to be found only on Dauar and Uga (Stephen's Island). The only names which Mr J. Bruce could find out that it was in the habit of calling were those of two old women, named Waisi and Mabkep, who lived on Dauar. Waisi was an Erub (Darnley Island) woman, the widow of a Dauar man¹, her legs were partly paralysed so that she had to walk with the aid of a big stick, used as a crutch. Mabkep had a deformed foot, the toes of the right foot being all turned in towards the sole. These women lived together and when they went out of their house they were always hobbling about together on their sticks, and whenever they went outside the house the *kopei* used to follow them and call out to them "Waisi! Mabkep! *kulpe api!*" all the while. The natives think *kulpe api* really means *palopalo* (crooked²) and that the *kopei* was trying to call out "Mabkep *palopalo*," referring to the crooked toes, but that he could not pronounce the last word properly. They give this bird the credit of being able to call out any person's name, but so far as Mr Bruce was able to discover the only names it has been known to call are those of these two old women.

DIVINATION.

We have not many records of actions performed in order to gain information about past, present, or future events. They are practically confined to the Tomog divining *zogo*, skull divination, and divination by means of lice.

Tomog zogo.

Tömög *zogo* was formerly the famous and important divinatory shrine of Mer, it belonged to the Kòmet *le* and Er *le*³, and lies in a cleared space in a bamboo thicket almost midway between those districts, as shown on the map on p. 170.

It consists of a collection of stones, on each of which was formerly placed a large shell, usually a giant *Fusus* or a helmet shell (*Cassis*) (pl. XXIII. figs. 3, 4); each stone with its shell represented a dwelling-place, village, or district in Mer (fig. 50). The main collection of stones measures about 4.6 m. (15 ft.) from north to south and about 4 m. (13 ft.) from east to west. By the north-western angle there is a confused mass of large clam shells (*Tridacna*) which appear to have originally had a somewhat concentric arrangement, this forms the "house" of the *zogo*. The latter was said to have been a small stone in the form of a cross, it was contained within the valves of a small *Tridacna* shell, this was placed in a larger one, and so on. About 2.1 m. (7 ft.) from the main shrine in a north-westerly direction is a small stone, Si, with a *Fusus* shell; it is shown to the left near the foreground in pl. XXIII. fig. 4.

¹ Waisi was the second wife of Daugiri of Waier (29), doubtless they resided on Dauar.

² In Vol. III. pp. 135, 173 *barbar* is the only word for "crooked," *balbal* is the western term.

³ In my notes I have Er *le*, but Mr Hunt (l. c. p. 8) says Geaurem *le*, and probably he is correct.

The accompanying plan of Tomog zogo shows diagrammatically the relative positions and forms of the stones and shells forming the shrine. Considerable difficulty was

OSI



FIG. 50. Plan of Tomog zogo.

experienced in securing approximate unanimity in the identification of the stones with the places named on the plan, and several of them I cannot place on the map. Perhaps

all the stones may not be in their original position. In any case the stones cannot be said to form a map of the island, nor is there any other arrangement that is intelligible to me.

Divination was accomplished by the voices and movements of birds, the movements of rats, lizards and insects, and the appearance of natural objects. Anything that happened to one of the associated stones and shells related to the man or men who lived in the house or district represented by that particular stone and shell, but anything that happened to the Si stone and shell concerned all the inhabitants of the island. It is obvious that by means of the central mass of stones a discrimination or analysis could be made, whereas the Si stone permitted of a synthesis.

The oracle was consulted only at daybreak, those who came to inquire of the *zogo* stood up in a particular spot to the north-east and said, "Tomog *zogo*, you make me know all things, tell us the truth." After they had asked the question for which they required a definite answer, they sat down on some leaves, with their legs crossed under them, and their closed fists on their knees (pl. XXIII. figs. 3, 4)¹.

Supposing someone in the island was sick, a relative or friend of the invalid would approach one of the *zogo le* and ask him to find out who had brought misfortune on their friend. Next morning, at 'small fellow daylight,' the *zogo le* would ask the *zogo*, "Who made So-and-so sick? Where does he live?" Then the inquirers would sit down in a row and wait. By-and-by a lizard, *mōnan*, might come out of a shell, this would indicate the house or village where the man lived, and later, by means of careful local inquiries they would seek to discover his identity. When they had satisfied themselves, they would tell him to take his sorcery stone, *wiwar*, and to put it in the sea. As soon as the stone became cooled by the water, the patient would recover from his illness (p. 233). Even if the man had not performed *maid*, he would always admit it and do as he was told, partly to save trouble, and partly because he was pleased to have the reputation of being able to perform this kind of magic.

Tomog *zogo* was also consulted if a man was very ill, in order to find out if he would recover. If a dead lizard was seen, it was a warning that he would die—a prophecy that almost certainly wrought its own fulfilment.

It was the custom to attend the *zogo* every (?) morning to discover if anything was going to happen. The *zogo le* did not, in that case, ask a question of the *zogo*, but sat down and looked about them.

If two small lizards, *keāā*, or *ked*, came out of different shells and meeting one another had a fight and one of them killed the other, then the *zogo le* knew that the man represented by the victorious *kead* had perpetrated *maid* upon the man indicated by the slain lizard².

¹ The men in the photographs, beginning from the left, are Jimmy Dei (Sebeg, 4 B), Kaige, son of Obra (Sangiz, 6), Enoka (Er, 18 A), —, Arei, the mamoose (Zaub, 2).

² The Rev. A. E. Hunt (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. 1899, p. 8) gave the following account: "If any person died, the *tumog* was consulted as to the cause. The diviner would sit and watch the shells until a *mona*—a small lizard—would run out of one of them; the shell from which the lizard proceeded being carefully noted. Presently from a second shell another lizard would appear and the two would fight. If one was killed it would be regarded as a proof that the person had been killed by someone from the village represented by the shell out of which the victorious lizard issued. The friends of the deceased would then proceed to

The following is just as it was told to me, "Suppose two fellow they want one girl, girl he stop another town, girl he like one boy, boy he come out of his place, girl he come out too, they get married, the *zogo le* they find him out, they look, they see *mokeis* (a rat) come out of shell, *mokeis* all same girl, then they savvy."

The appearance of a *kwarwei* (a kind of wild fowl, smaller than a *Megapodius*) foretold the approach of a canoe coming from that particular quarter whence the fowl emerged from the bush, and its behaviour indicated how soon the canoe may be expected.

A spider in its web foretold that a white-man's ship would sail to Mer from the direction in which the web was situated; the spider's web being like the rigging of a ship.

Should a stream of ants come from the bush to the northward of the *zogo*, the diviners expected a visit from the natives of New Guinea, and if the ants carried their cocoons (the so-called ants' eggs) in their mouths, it meant that the men would bring some sago with them; since the sago imported into the islands is always made up into elongated oval bundles.

If the ants had small sticks in their mouths, it would indicate that the New Guinea men were bringing arrows for barter.

If a red spot was seen on a leaf, it signified a fight, and its position showed whence the danger might be expected.

When an evil-scented fungus sprung up within the area of the stones, there would be a famine, or at all events a scarcity of yams.

If there was no 'news,' nothing would happen.

Supposing the *zogo* was consulted for a definite purpose and no answer vouchsafed. The men sat watching patiently till the sun was high, then they consulted together, and probably agreed that the silence indicated a "big sick," and that some sickness or epidemic was in store for the island.

In this instance, as in all other cases where *zogo mer* were spoken, we found it extremely difficult to get the *zogo le* to tell us what they said. Mr Ray obtained the following:

*Tomog aizir*¹ *Daudai dasmer, Daudai tag emariklei*², *Daudaiem dasmer.*
Tomog Daudai see Daudai hands to Daudai look.

Tomog aizir Erubi dasmer, mi Erubem tag amariklei.
Tomog Erub see we to Erub hands.

The formula was repeated, substituting the names of the following islands Dauar, that village and demand payment for the death of their friend, or fight. Should no lizard appear, after watching for some time, the diviner would declare that the deceased had died from sickness and not from foul means."

¹ Mr Ray cannot make out what this is, and thinks it is perhaps a wrong word. He once wrote it *gaizir*, and suggests that it may possibly be *Tomoge*, At *Tomog, isir*, beetle (perhaps a small animal of any kind), *Daudai, dasmer*, sees. The word *azer* means "go back."

² Mr Ray suggests that *tag emariklei* is a translation of the jargon "send" or "give a hand to," i.e. help; to stretch out hands=*batirimuda*. I am inclined to think that this phrase has some connection with the attitude of the two hands of the *zogo le*, which point in front of them as they sit when consulting the *zogo*. Mr Ray concurs that the phrase would bear the meaning "put forth a hand." The suffix *-lei* shows that the subject is in the dual number and the prefix *e-* that the object is singular.

Kaur and Masig for that of Erub. Mr Ray suggests that the proper formula should be:

Tomoge ese Daudai dasmer mi Daudaiem tag emariklei.
At Tomog if Daudai see we to Daudai hands (two) send.

The version I obtained was:

Tomog gaizir Merem tag amarikle¹.
Tomog to Mer hands (two) send.
Tomog gaizir Meri dasmer.
Tomog Mer see.

The formula being repeated for Dauar, Erub, Daudi, Kaur and Masig. I also obtained the phrase:

Tomog atagima (Tomoge tag emarik, Tomog hand send) matagemarik (ma tag emarik, you hand send) narem narem, for a boat, for a boat.

What seems clear is that the *zogo le* invoked Tomog, that they pointed their hands to some place, and that Tomog (was asked?) to look at that place. They probably referred to all the places they could think of, the islands Mer, Dauar, Erub, Masig, Kaur (probably a general name for the islands to the west), etc., and Daudi, or Daudai, a part of the mainland of New Guinea. They repeated the formulæ quickly and repeatedly, and it is probable that when a bird appeared, or some other event happened, that the circumstance was located at the place which they happened to be mentioning at the time.

The following incidents were told to me as examples of the power and veracity of the *zogo*.

On one occasion a large number of men went to New Guinea, and as they were absent for a very long time the men remaining on Mer thought that the mainlanders had killed them. Eventually it was decided to ask the Tomog *zogo le* to consult the *zogo*. The first thing next morning several *zogo le* went to Tomog and sat down in silence. They saw some ants go from the north to the west, they formed in line and came to the Sebeg stone, there they entered into a crack in the ground and did not reappear. The *zogo le* looked, but nothing further happened, and they decided that their friends were not dead, but had left the mainland and visited some of the western islands and would shortly return to Sebeg. They went to Sebeg and informed the people of that village what they had discovered. And it transpired as the oracle foretold.

The first missionaries to Mer were Mataika and his wife Siau; they had been brought from Lifu, in the Loyalty Islands, to Erub in 1872. Towards the end of that year Mataika crossed over, in a canoe of his own making, to convert the Miriam. After Mataika had been in Mer for some time he wanted fresh stores, so he went to the headquarters of the Mission, which were then at Somerset, Cape York.

Mataika was away for such a long time that Siau became very anxious, and feared he was dead. Unable to bear the suspense any longer, she spoke to Obra (Saugiz, 6) who was the head of the Tomog *zogo le* and said, "Very good you go to your *zogo* and

¹ I was told by one of the *zogo le* that this meant "We two point hands to Mer."

ask him where Mataika he stop. I think him dead." He said, "All right tomorrow small fellow daylight I go."

On consulting the *zogo* at daybreak next morning, Obra could not see anything happening in the clearing in the direction of Somerset. After some time two *keäd*¹ lizards came out from the bush which lay in the direction of Erub and looked at Obra, and immediately ran away. Obra came back and said to Siau, "Mataika, he leave Somerset long time ago, he go to Erub, close up he come." Next morning Obra went up the hill Gelam, and espied a canoe coming from Erub. He told Siau that Mataika was on board. When the canoe arrived it was found that Mataika was on board, with one other man and three boys.

On his arrival Mataika was informed what had been done, and he told the natives to burn and break up all their other *zogo*, charms, and images. "They all devil-devil," he said, "but good thing you keep Tomog *zogo*, he speak true. Ah! he all right, he all same dream (*peim*)."

When I first discovered Tomog *zogo* it was considerably damaged as it had been burnt by Josiah, Mataika's successor. In 1898 it was in a worse condition, and the encroaching vegetation and rubbish had to be cleared before we could photograph and make a plan of it. It was very suggestive to see the reverent affection the old men displayed for the *zogo*, and they seemed gratified at the care with which it had been cleaned and mapped.

Shortly afterwards, the mamoose Arei consented to give us a private rehearsal of the method employed in consulting the *zogo*, and one or two of our party went with him just before sunrise in the "old-time fashion." We told the mamoose we were anxious for the speedy arrival of the Mission vessel, the *Nieuw*, and wanted to know when she was coming. We heard some birds twittering in the bush, which the mamoose gravely assured us denoted a boat was approaching. Later in the day George Rotumah's lugger came in and brought us a mail, so the birds had not twittered in vain.

Skull divination.

A particular form of divination by means of a specially prepared skull was practised by the elder Samsep *le* and Kòmet *le*, both of which groups were *Beizam le*.

When a mummy, *le aud*, fell to pieces the head was taken (p. 149) and the features of the deceased were modelled in the black wax of the small wild bee, the eyes were formed of pieces of nautilus nacre, spots of beeswax serving for the pupils, and pieces of wood supplied the place of missing teeth. Such a skull, *lamar-marik*² (*lamar*, ghost;

¹ In 1889, when I first heard this story, I was told that a *kwarwei* bird came out of the bush, but in 1898 I was told "two *head* came out, they look at that man, he look, he (the two lizards) no fight, he (they) stop small time."

² Fig. 51 is a sketch of one of several skulls, now in the Cambridge Museum, that were prepared for me to show how a *lamar-marik* was decorated. The wax face is painted with a red line that extends above the forehead towards each ear-hole, then passes forward about midway across the face and extends to the tip of the nose. Numerous white feathers are stuck on the face and cranium as in the Bomai mask (fig. 59). On the forehead is a head-dress consisting of the ordinary coronet of cassowary feathers, which, instead of forming a broad plume, is tied so as to make two horns, between which are inserted several *daumer lub* with notched shafts, two plants of *sarik pas* are also tied on to the skull. As the skull had no lower jaw an artificial one of cardboard was added.

emarik, send forth), constituted when properly employed a divining *zogo* of remarkable power (fig. 51). Probably the skulls of only important members of the *Samsep le* and *Kòmet le* were employed for this purpose.



FIG. 51. *Lamar-marik*, or decorated skull used in divination.

Mr Bruce informed me that any man from whom something had been stolen had the right to go to a *Beizam le* and inform him of the theft, should he wish to recover the object. The *Beizam le* consulted with his influential fellows, and, if they consented to act, four of them, before going to the *pelak* in which the mask of *Bomai* was kept (p. 284), went together to *Terker*, the spot at which *Bomai* first landed on *Mer* (p. 38). There they painted themselves with red ochre and stuck a *Torres Straits* pigeon's feather, *daumer lub* (fig. 64, p. 292), in their hair, and then proceeded to the *pelak*, taking with them the *lamar-marik* of a deceased *zogo le*. One of the party, who had to be a *zogo le*, or a near relative of one, took the *Bomai* mask and put it on his head, repeating as he did so some *zogo mer*. When they had finished the ceremony they left the *pelak* in single file, performing a kind of dancing step as they went; the leader carried the skull in his left hand, which he held out horizontally in front of him. They kept on till they heard a *kitoto* insect (a kind of locust) making its strident noise, then they followed the sound of the *kitoto* until they reached a house, which presumably should have been that of the thief. When they had been led to a house, they went to the man who had been robbed and informed him to whose house they had been led. He repaired thither with his

friends and destroyed the owner's goods, probably his garden. It was of no use for the man to deny the theft, because the *kitoto* had indicated him, and the *Beizam le* were so powerful that it was as much as his life was worth to resist. He might perhaps expostulate with his friends should he happen to be a *Beizam le* himself, but were he a *Nog le* (an outsider) it would be useless and he would have to recompense the loser. This operation of thief-catching must be undertaken just before sundown as that is the time when the *kitoto* begins its swishing noise. Sometimes the *kitoto* leads the finders to where the stolen article is hidden, in which case they remain content, and do not seek to discover who had stolen it. The loser is never allowed to accompany the finders. Mr Bruce said, of course the finders know well enough they are only humbugging, but still natives always think that others have the power to perform feats.



FIG. 52. A diviner with a *lamar-marik*.

Baton (Areb, 15), himself a *Beizam le* of Samsep, informed me in 1889 that if it were required to discover the man who by means of *maid* had made someone ill, several of the *zogo le* went at night to the *pelak* of Bomai, painted themselves red all over, and otherwise decorated themselves and the *lamar-marik*¹ (fig. 52). The men took "*lukup* belong *zogo*?" A body with arms and legs was made of banana leaves, and the head was

¹ Baton himself dressed up to show me what was done. His head and shoulders were enveloped in a covering of croton leaves, leaving the face exposed, one large sprig was stuck vertically in his hair. The skull was similarly decorated, and was not held in the hand, but carried suspended from the leaves; the actual skull he employed is that shown in pl. XXVIII. fig. 2; it is now in the British Museum.

² These were, *taibi*, a species of croton; *sarik pas*, *Andropogon nardus*; *sam*, cassowary feathers; and *daumer lub*, feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon (*Carpophaga*).

affixed to the effigy. Then the *zogo le* chewed the *lukup* (probably only the *sarik pas*), hung the effigy on a tree, and, standing in a row, they blew on the head, spat out the *lukup* on it, and asked the head who had hurt the man. All the while the men alternately swung forward each foot ("like drill"), and waited till they heard a *kitoto* stridulate, then they bent their heads and rushed blindly on in the direction from which the noise proceeded. A single *kitoto* was supposed to guide them to the house of the culprit. Should the men lose the right direction, the *kitoto* would wait for them to come up, ever and again making its noise "sh sh." Ultimately the *kitoto* arrived at the village or house where the supposed originator of the illness resided, and then the *zogo le* took steps to discover him and to remedy the harm done.

A man who has successfully poisoned or charmed another may boast about it and so is easily discovered by the victim's friends. Or he may tell only a few of his own friends, who may possibly keep the secret; perhaps he may not confide in anyone, but, in his joy, he may make a small feast and invite a few friends for no ostensible reason. So when inquiries are instituted, the question may be asked, "Who has made a feast lately?" The answer may form a clue, the following up of which may lead to the discovery of the criminal.

It is extremely probable that a method of skull-divination took place in the Murray Islands similar to that which was so common in the western islands (Vol. v. p. 362), but I cannot find any reference to it in my notes as being practised in Mer, for Gelam was still living in Moa when he divined with his father's skull (p. 24). One instance of divination by means of bones (and presumably of the skull) also occurs in the legend of *Nam zogo* (p. 48).

Divination by lice.

The only records I have of the method of divining by means of lice, which also occurred among the Western Islanders (Vol. v. pp. 19, 20, 361), is found in the folk-tale of Nargeg and Geigi (p. 17), and in that of Kaperkaper, the Cannibal (p. 53). As the lice appear to have been always taken from the hair of the head, it is probable that this method bears some relation to divination by means of heads.

BEIZAM. ✓

In a garden at Babud belonging to Jimmy Dei (Sebeg, 4 B) there is a collection of small stones that were so arranged on the ground as to represent a shark, *beizam*. Immediately behind the head of the shark are some five larger stones called *kemdoge neur* or "girls beside the body," and behind the dorsal fin is another group of five(?) stones called *waigizsai neur*.

Formerly all the old *Meaurem le* and *Kòmet le* were associated in this ceremony. At the regular time for making their gardens the *Meaurem le* and *Kòmet le* cleared the bush, dug the ground, and planted their crops; when this was done the old *Meaurem le* sent word to the *Kòmet le* to come and help prepare the *Beizam*. The place was tidied up and the stones arranged in due order. An oblong bamboo framework¹ (fig. 53) was erected;

¹ In this sketch I have placed the framework over the shark, which I believe is correct.

it consisted of four posts, the upper ends of which were connected by two transverse and two longitudinal bars; across the centre of the latter were placed two lengths of bamboo rather close together, and on these were placed two large *Fusus* shells, *maber*, which were brought by the man in whose charge they were (now they belong to Jimmy Dei (Sebeg, 4 B), and remain on his land in Babud). Five small *Fusus* shells, *maber*, were fastened, mouths downwards, on each terminal transverse bar of the framework; these were termed respectively *kemdoge neur* and *waigizsai neur*, and were supposed to be girls sitting on the platform, each of whom was holding a shell in her hand. Hitherto all this was done in silence; when all was finished the old men talked. Numbers of men came to see the *Beizam* and they said to it, "You take care that we have plenty of food. You must not permit any man to steal from our gardens, nor rats to eat our food, nor birds to do damage. You must prevent all this." Then it was left alone.

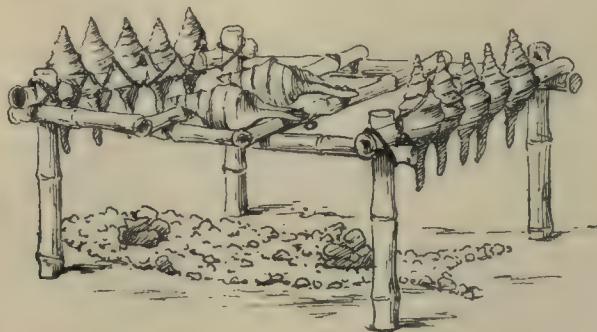


FIG. 53. Restoration of the *Beizam* shrine.

After four or five months, when the yam vines had lengthened, the old man who was responsible for the shrine decided that it was time to remove the *Fusus* shells; he called out, "All you men and women get ready. You and I will go and take the two shells and leave them in their place." When this was done, the Meaurem and Kòmet people went to their gardens in the bush and collected food; of this they made a great heap and divided it amongst themselves, giving liberally to those who were especially concerned in the shrine.

Beizam was a garden shrine that caused yams, bananas, and coco-nuts to be abundant. It was described to me as being "all same *lamar*," that is, resembling a spirit or equivalent to a spirit; its *kebi nei* was *nòg*, which is also the name of a mask¹, the idea evidently being that as a mask may represent a spirit [a mask can also represent a hero, totem, or object in Torres Straits], so also did the heap of stones. The two large *Fusus* shells were described as being "all same man," they certainly had a very intimate connection with the shrine, indeed it would seem that their presence was necessary to its functioning. I believe that this was the earthly representative of the celestial *Beizam*, the constellation that is described by Dr Rivers in Vol. iv. The stone girls were supposed to sit down and take care of *Beizam*, and their presence proved that this was not a *zogo*.

¹ The mask represented in pl. XXIV. fig. 5 and referred to on p. 256 may have been of a similar nature.

I regret that the account of this shrine is so imperfect, as it appears to be an ancient cult, and may date back to the transition period when totemism was disappearing, if indeed it be not yet earlier. It is certainly older than the Bomai-Malu cult, as the Kòmet *le* are *Beizam boai* and the Meaurem *le* are *Zagareb le*; this is one of the arguments in favour of a previous closer connection between the Kòmet *le* and Meaurem *le* than exists at present (pp. 171—174). This cult apparently had no relation whatever to that of the *Beizam boai* (pp. 172, 285).

DOGAI.

Dogai is a star¹ that rises in the north-east. It is believed to be very powerful during the period when the north-east wind, *naiger*, blows (i.e. from October to the end of December), since, as they say, it destroys the fish, more especially the octopus, *arti*, on the fringing reef. When the women go on the reef at low water and find the *arti* and *tup* (a small fish like a sardine) lying dead, they are very angry with Dogai, as they then have to search in the night with torches to catch fish. Dogai blights the coco-nuts so that they fall from the trees, rotten before maturing, and he makes the leaves brown and shrivelled in *naiger* time.

When he is situated at the tail of the constellation *Beizam*, in January, he swings the shark's tail and thus causes the very high tides, *erosia*, which occur at night, and sometimes they break down fences and houses along the beach.

In the north-west monsoon, after a short and severe blow, or during a long gale, the seas run a long way up the beach and may do considerable damage, which also is due to Dogai. During the same season fish are frequently found dead, floating in the sea, and jelly-fish are very numerous; the latter are regarded as his excreta, *Dogaira le*, and the fish are supposed to have been poisoned by the pollution of the sea by Dogai. None of the above misfortunes are attributed to the action of the sun or moon.

I have already given all the available information about the Dogai cult, most of which and of the foregoing account was obtained from Mr Bruce.

The *Dogaira wetpur* (p. 209) was commemorated annually in September and October; its object may have been to secure a good harvest, or, as Mr Bruce suggests, it may have been a kind of harvest thanksgiving, as it was held when food was abundant. The two Dogai masks were worn by representative men at the headquarters of the various groups in the following order: Bak, Mergarem *le* and Geaurem *le*; Kabur, Zagareb *le*; Mear, Piaderem *le*; and Zer (where the masks were permanently housed), Samsep *le*. The masks were not *zogo*, as is proved by the fact that the places where the ceremonies were held were cleaned and prepared by women.

The *Dogaira wed* were sung in connection with the appearance of a tall man, wearing a mask, who represented Dogai at funeral ceremonies (p. 143); the following were the *keber*

¹ Mr Bruce thinks it is Mars, but he is not sure, it appears to him to be red. He also speaks of Dogai as being of the male sex, though I was told it was female, which is more probable from the analogy of the Western *dogai*, but I have not ventured to correct Mr Bruce.

wed or *omana*¹: *Dogai erosia guie tamana sabisabi uaiemana ataiemana ses-eba palemen kroik* (or *kororia*) *bugebuge*².

Mr Bruce gives the following free translation: "The star Dogai causes the high night-tides to come from the sea, and when the surges from the breakers strike the beach they spread out over the low ground above high-water mark, then they flow back and rejoin the sea, and once more they separate."

Doubtless this is the sense as explained to him by his informants and as they understood it. Mr Bruce states that Dogai is introduced after the other *keber* are finished.

Mr Bruce says that Dogai belongs to Kòmet. I must confess I cannot reconcile this statement with the fact that the *Dogaira wetpur* was confined to all the peoples on the opposite side of the island, that is if there is any relation between the two ceremonies, for one would expect the *Dogaira keber* to be the funeral ceremony of those people who participated in the *Dogaira wetpur*.

The *Dogaira wed* are in the western language, and it will be remembered that there is throughout the western islands a belief in a class of powerful and usually malignant beings termed *dògai*, who are always of the female sex (Vol. v. p. 353).

I am inclined to regard the *Beizam* cult as belonging to the western half of Mer (excluding the Peibre or Dauer *le*, who seem to be excluded from an active participation in so many other cults) and the Dogai cult as belonging to the eastern half. As in the case of the *Beizam*, the latter cult ignores all distinction between *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le*. If my suggestion be correct, it would be tempting to hazard the guess that they might represent in some way the two lost phratries which we imagine must have existed at one time (p. 174).

CULTS WITH INITIATION CEREMONIES.

It seems probable that there were formerly several cults with preparatory initiation ceremonies, but with one or two exceptions they appear to have dwindled away on account of the predominance of the Bomai-Malu cult.

It was noted on p. 142 that there was an initiation ceremony connected with the *Baur siriam*. In footnote 1, p. 129, it was suggested that the term *siriam* was originally equivalent to the western *kwod* (Vol. v. pp. 3, 365), and this coincides with Mr Bruce's belief that each *siriam* ceremony had its own special "supernatural function." The western *kwod* was a more or less strictly tabooed area where various ceremonies were performed, and it was the focus of the social, political and religious life of the men. It is probable that among the Western Islanders each totem clan originally had its own *kwod*. We know also that funeral ceremonies were performed in certain *kwod*. I am of the opinion that in early days the Miriam were organised in a similar manner to the Western Islanders, and that each local (totemic?) group had its taboo-ground where lads were initiated, and

¹ *Omen*, according to Mr Ray (Vol. III. p. 156), is "said of the *kolap* (top) when spinning"—*omana* is probably the same word, and probably means "humming."

² Here I have given Mr Bruce's words in their original spelling, a slightly emended version is given on p. 143, where however *eros ia* should have been *erosia*.

where ceremonies were held, some of which almost certainly had for their object the control of plants, animals, or the elements, while others in all probability were associated with the death of a member of the local group. It is possible that the importance of these local ceremonies was becoming diminished even before the arrival of the Bomai-Malu cult; a contributory factor to this may have been the relative dense population of the small island and the intermingling which would necessarily occur. The importance of the control of nature for the needs of man would prevent these particular ceremonies from dying out and the conservatism in all that relates to death would tend to preserve funeral ceremonies. Mr Bruce has repeatedly drawn my attention to the fact that the *keber*¹ ceremonies were introduced by Waiet (pp. 128, 139 footnote, 279), and the natives emphatically assert that "Bomai came before Waiet." The Western Islanders certainly regarded Waiait (as they called him) as one of the principal introducers of death-dances from New Guinea (Vol. v. pp. 48—55); possibly the innovation that he introduced was the employment of masks. Funeral ceremonies must have been performed previously; but there can be no doubt that a new ritual had been introduced from New Guinea, which subsequently spread to the Murray Islands, and this is, I think, the explanation of the statement that the *keber* ceremonies were introduced by Waiait.

So far as our evidence goes there are only a few cults of any importance which retain traces of old initiation ceremonies, these are: the *Irmer gali* connected with rain-making (p. 195), the *Baur siriam* (p. 142), the *Meket siriam*, and perhaps the *Waiait zogo* (p. 277). I include the last among these as I suspect that certain culture influences associated with the name of Waiait were grafted upon an older indigenous erotic cult.

The initiation ceremonies of the Bomai-Malu cult admittedly belong to a later period; and to a subsequent period belongs the whole, or a part (but not probably the whole), of the initiation ceremonies connected with the *Waiait zogo*.

MEKET SIRIAM ZOGO.

Meket siriam was described as "a small *zogo*, like *Malu*," into which lads were initiated; the same term, *kèsi*, was applied to the initiates as was employed in the *Malu* ceremonies. Women, girls, and small boys were not allowed to be present. It was distinctly stated not to be a *keber*, or to have anything to do with death.

Meket siriam belonged to Ulag, Las, Areb, Eger, Er, and Werbadu (that is, to the Zagareb, Samsep, Geaurem and Mergareem divisions, p. 170) on the eastern side of Mer, and to Sebeg on the western side; but the ceremonies took place only at Areb and Sebeg. The following brief account applies solely to the Areb ceremony; all the information I have about the Sebeg ceremony is that it occurred on the sand-beach and was distinct from the other, though doubtless it was very similar.

The Areb ceremony took place on the beach before daylight when the morning star shone, and it ceased at sunrise. I have no information on what occasion the ceremony was performed, nor how often. The following is the *Meket* song that was then sung:

Iaba dudiaba gebariaba mukëriaba tatarmaiike.

¹ I suspect that confusion has arisen between the words *keber* and *siriam*, and that they have been employed interchangeably in certain instances. We have the definite statement that the *zera markai keber*, which was one of those introduced by Waiait, was not a *siriam*.

Mr Ray recasts and translates this as follows:

Iaba, far away, lit. foreign, *Dudipa* to Dudi (in New Guinea), *Gebaripa* to Gebari (? Gaba island), *Mukeriaba*, to Muker (Muker is the Miriam name for Cap Island), *dada-maik*, will divide, or *tata-maik*, will make talk indistinctly (?so as not to be understood).

Dr Myers obtained the following version:

Tatarmaike amiaba dudiaba gebariat mirkeriaba,

which appears to be even less intelligible than the former. Accepting Mr Ray's interpretation, it is difficult to get much sense out of the words and still more so to see their appropriateness to the *meket siriam*, unless it implies, which it is difficult to believe, that the Miriam warriors had successfully raided peoples in far-away lands who spoke a speech which they regarded as uncouth. Against this view is the fact that the words belong to the western language.

The performer of the ceremony wore a *meket* over the upper part of his face; this was a small mask (figs. 54, 55) made of turtle-shell. It consisted of two lenticular pieces,



FIGS. 54, 55. Drawings of a *meket*, made by two natives.

the outer angles of which were much prolonged and turned downwards, the inner angles were fastened to a turtle-shell nose-piece; each of the paired pieces was adorned with cassowary feathers and had a conventional eye in its centre, there was a perforation in the inner angle, through which the wearer looked (fig. 54). The performer was clothed with a *tolop*, or petticoat made of blackened leaves.

MEKET SARIK.

The *meket siriam le* performed the *meket sarik* on an afternoon at Murbu or Wabkek after a successful fight. The *ume le* ("the men who know") of this ceremony belonged to the villages from Mei to Warwe¹, inclusive. The last chief officiators, or *zogo le*, who wore the masks, were Kober (Las, 14 c) and Bina (Mei, 13 A); Dudu (Warwe, 16) and Madado (Areb, 15 c) being their *tami le*.

The *zogo le* were painted red all over, and wore a sort of breast-plate of *zim* leaves

¹ Probably this is not quite correct as I was also informed that on the last occasion of the ceremony Azo (Ulag, 12) and Joe Brown (Er, 18 c) were the *sēsari le*, or men who formed the rear of each column; it is therefore probable that the dancers could come from any of the villages mentioned in connection with the *meket siriam*.

and a petticoat of the same leaves, *zim nesur* (fig. 56). Each mask¹, which was made of turtle-shell, represented a human face with eyes of nautilus nacre; it was surmounted by a large crescent measuring about a metre from tip to tip, a simple pattern was incised along its border, a black-tipped, white feather projected from each point and two rattle-seeds, *gòà*, hung from the same spot. From the chin of the mask extended a rope about two metres in length, to which were attached numerous human lower-jaws; this was held up in front of each *zogo le* by his *tami le*. The *zogo le* also wore on his head a



FIG. 56. *Zogo le* and *tami le* of the *meket sarik*.

large coronet of cassowary feathers. He held in one hand a stone-headed club and the forefinger of the other was inserted through the nose-perforation of a decapitated head. The *tami le* were also painted red, and wore a *zim* petticoat. The masks, including the *meket*, were kept in a crevice or cave, *seke kur*, in the lava stream at Murbu.

Only men were allowed to be present at this ceremony, and they assembled in numbers, were painted red, decorated in full war accoutrements and carried bows and

¹ I had a model made of the mask used in the war dance (fig. 57), as there was no original specimen on the island. It is of wood and the crescent measures 513 mm. from tip to tip; this is certainly smaller than was the original mask. It is painted white with a border of slate-grey, the lower border has red bars, the face is grey with red margin to the forehead, and the nose and cheek folds are white, the triangle included by the latter is red, the eyes are of nautilus nacre with black wax pupils, and human-hair eyebrows. The cord is about 70 cm. long, attached to it at intervals are notched white feathers and shells of bivalved molluscs (*Barbatia*).

arrows or stone-headed clubs. They danced in double file, each row being headed by a *zogo le* and a *tami le*. As they danced they sang:

Gub sagara waura zilemi wa titil apamide (or *aparuma*)
 Wind south-east south-east ran yes flower of coco-nut continue to open are broken off
ye ye karuma la gugu¹ zapia (or *gugu zaba*).
 a lizard *gugu* bird along the things (properly *zapuia*)².



FIG. 57. Model of a mask worn at the *meket sarik*.

The foregoing information was obtained from Wanu (Areb, 15 A) at Wabkek, he said that the *au nei* for the ceremony was *zogo*, and that *meket siriam* was a *kebi nei*.

¹ Cf. Vol. v. fig. 47, p. 311.

² I am indebted to Mr Ray for this suggested translation; all except *sagara*=*sager* appear to be western words.

The Tur *siriam keber* (p. 142) was one of the special funeral ceremonies of the *meket siriam le*, and was probably restricted to the larger group of the Samsep (p. 170).

Mr Bruce states that Pager (p. 133), who has nothing to do with Terer and Aukem (p. 131), was introduced by Waiet (pp. 128, 279); he is strictly connected with the *meket siriam zera markai keber*. Elsewhere he says, "Pager is a *keber*, this particular *keber* belongs to the Kòmet *le*, and comes on the scene (as in pl. V. fig. 1, which was taken at Sebeg) after all the other *keber* ceremonies are finished, he is the final episode in the death ceremonies." From this it would appear that the representation of Pager was peculiar to the *meket siriam keber* that was performed at Sebeg, which is a village in the district of Kòmet. For the present it must be left an open question whether this funeral ceremony was confined to the *meket siriam le* of Sebeg, or whether all the Kòmet *le* participated in it.

In the Truro Museum there is a crescentic object (pl. XXVIII. fig. 5) with the following label: "An ornament worn by the natives of Murray's Island in some of their war dances, presented by Lieut. G. B. Kempthorne, I.N." I have very little doubt but that it is the chest ornament of the Tur *siriam le* (pl. XXVII. fig. 5) or the upper portion of a mask of the *meket siriam le* (fig. 56). To the rigid framework are attached numerous mouths of cowry shells, the teeth of which are reddened; the upper edge is sewed round with reddened sennet to form a herring-bone pattern symmetrical to the middle line <<<>>>; the lower border is bound with a New Guinea belt. The length from tip to tip is 1.17 m. (3 ft. 10 in.), the greatest breadth is 157 mm. (6¼ ins.).

THE WAIET ZOGO.

Walet (Walet or Waiäd) was represented by a turtle-shell image of a man, about 92 or 122 cm. (3 or 4 ft.) in height, which reclined against the railings of the platform of a canoe. No women were allowed to see these *zogo lu*, sacred objects, which were kept in a cave high up in the large cleft, *au kes*, which traverses the crescentic wall of the rock of Waier, to the right of the great fallen block of volcanic ash, "Korsor," shown in fig. 1, pl. XXIII. The *zogo* ground is now overgrown with vegetation, it lies about 27.5 m. (30 yds.) from the sand beach and contains a columnar upright stone 46 cm. (18 in.) high, surrounded by large *Fusus* shells, arranged radially.

Mr Bruce had a model made of Walet which he presented to the Cambridge Museum (pl. XXII. fig. 6). It is 337 mm. (13¼ in.) high and carved out of soft wood. The head and face are black, the white decorations can be seen in the figure, there is a red line round the face, down the centre of the sides of the face and along the sides of the white triangles red spots alternate with the white. The body is black down to the knees, the rest of the legs and the upper arms are black, the forearms yellow and the hands red. The neck is red and a red triangle is painted on the body in front and behind with the base uppermost and the apex extending in the middle line to the waist. The head is decorated with two *dari*, one of turtle-shell trimmed with cassowary feathers and a red *wada* bean; the other is indicated by five white feathers, cut like a V. (In the original these head-dresses would have been carefully made and elaborately decorated *dari* of white feathers, as will be found described in Vol. iv.) Round the brow of the original was a headband to which were fastened the ribs

of men and women, *eud lera bir lid*. In the model there is a necklet of three wooden pendants in front and one behind, these represent the pieces of bamboo and bones of dead people of the original, these rattled with a peculiar noise wherever he went. From the girdle round the waist is suspended a pubic shell. The right hand holds a *warup* drum and tucked under the arm is a star-shaped stone-headed club, *saurisauri*. A red basket, *buzi le epei*, is carried under the left arm.

Mr Bruce also presented to the Cambridge Museum a model of the *sal* or *sale* (railings of the platform of a canoe) which formed the shrine of Waier. It consists of four pairs of double bars fastened to three pairs of double bars; the outer bars of the former support six tall uprights, and the inner bars support four short uprights on each side. A horizontal bar is tied along each of these four rows. Six transverse bars on each side are fastened by their centre to the point where the horizontal bar is fastened to the outer row of six uprights, and their inner end is fastened to the inner horizontal bar, thus forming five square spaces on each side; these spaces are called *sale nebe* (framework holes) and they correspond to the crate-like receptacles in an ordinary canoe. A long transverse bar, with a central upright binds the whole together. The model measures 24 cm. square and 17 cm. high (pl. XXI. fig. 1).

All the Dauar and Waier people, and those who lived on the eastern and southern sides of Mer, from Ulag to Werbadu inclusive, but only those of Deiau on the other side of the island, could attend this ceremony¹. Once a year all these people, men, women, novitiates and children assembled at Waier, the sandspit on the north-west side of Waier, and there they piled up a very large heap of food and discussed the arrangements to be made concerning the initiation of the *kèsi*, or lads to be initiated. They remained here for one moon (month). The men alone went round by the south side to Ne, here the two *zogo le* redecorated the *zogo lu*, which they brought down to the *zogo* ground and placed it on the upright stone, standing one on each side of it. The *kèsi* were taken round by the north-east side of the island, and on arriving at the sand-beach of the bay they stopped behind a great rock about 82 m. (90 yds.) from the *zogo* ground. Two men were sent to fetch the *kèsi* who had to creep on their knees along the sand-beach all the way to the *zogo*, keeping their head and body erect and carrying on their shoulders a heavy load of bananas, yams and coco-nuts, as a present for the *zogo le*. Each *kèsi* held in his mouth, between the gums and lips, a large white shell painted red. During the ceremonies, which lasted for about a month, no man was allowed to wash. On the last day they all went into the sea to wash. Then for the first time the women and other outsiders were allowed to leave the north-west side of the island and come to Ne, where dancing and feasting were carried on. Pl. XXIII. fig. 1 is a view of the place where these ceremonies took place.

There were two *zogo le* and four *tami le* associated with this *zogo*, the latter attended on the former, dressed and decorated them; they were the masters of ceremonies in connection with the rites. Kriba of Waier (29) was the head *zogo le* and had as his *tami le* Kalki of Warwe (16 B) and Kabe of Ormei (25 A); Sagiba of Areb (15) [Bruce

¹ This is from information I obtained, but Mr Bruce says "all people, men, women, and children, came under it and yearly there was a pilgrimage of all the people of Murray and Dauar to the shrine on Waier. Every soul on the place went there at the time of the preparation of the shrine by the *zogo le*. All the men and novitiates (*kèsi le*) lived on the south side, and the women on the north side of the island."

says of Las] was the second *zogo le* and he had for his *tami le* Sinono of Terker (20 A) and Lui of Kameri (26 A).

Mr Bruce informs me that Waiet was a spirit, *lamar*, and could fly from Waier to any place he chose, his principal occupation was defiling women, girls and men. He had connection with any woman he wished for and always took as tokens the woman's petticoat, *nesur*, a sample of her pubic hair, and food from the house. When he returned to his shrine, the petticoat was placed in one receptacle, *sale nebge*, of the canoe, the hair in another, and the food under his legs. When the *zogo le* visited the shrine in the morning they knew that Waiet had been out on one of his amorous expeditions and professed to recognise the woman by the tokens. The hair of men was taken from the head. If any of those associated with the *zogo* wished to have any woman or man defiled by Waiet they went to his shrine and petitioned him so to do. This information was largely obtained from Wanu (Areb, 15 A).

Putabant Waietum mulieribus menstrua ciere, et ob id eis temporibus uiri cum uxoribus non cubabant, quod eae tunc credebantur Waieti uxores esse. Cum uirgini menstrua fiebant, mater dicebat ei Waietum iniisse eam et penem eius infantem in utero necauisse, ex quo sanguis defluerat. Putabant quoque uertrum Waieti prae-grande et spinis multis ac longis instructum esse, et testiculos eius pro rata magnos.

In a small cave to the west of the Waiet *zogo* are two upright slabs of rock and two flat, oval slabs on which were painted a human face. These are the *au kosker* or "big women," who lived in the cave at the time when Waiet was living close beside them; but he did not know of their existence until one day when he was beating his drum, and the bushes were waving in the wind as if they were dancing (this description was given me by my informant), he looked up and saw the two women dancing in a circle, counter-clockwise, on the sand-beach, with arms crossed over their breasts. Waiet continued beating his drum until the women returned to their cave. When we visited the cave both of the heads had fallen down and one was much water-worn, but we restored one to its position to take the photograph shown in pl. V. fig. 2. I was unable to learn anything further about the *au kosker*.

In the previous volume I have given all I have been able to gather about Waiat, to give him his western name; according to the western folk-tales he came from the Katau River on the mainland of New Guinea in company with Naga, a famous culture hero who instructed the Western Islanders in singing and dancing and in everything relating to the *kwod*, and he also introduced death-dances (Vol. v. p. 49). In one version Naga went to Uga, an eastern island, and according to another version, Waiat visited Mer. Waiat stole from Nagir some masks that Naga had made, and took them to Mabuiag, subsequently he was killed in Widul, a small island off Mabuiag. In Mabuiag Waiat appears to have had some connection with death ceremonies (Vol. v. p. 252) and a special death-dance was performed by the *zarar markai* at Widul and at Gumu, a spot on Mabuiag also associated with Waiat, after, and independently of, the ordinary ceremonies (Vol. v. footnote p. 253, fig. 34).

Waiet, as the Miriam call Waiat, came to Waier subsequently to Bomai and he introduced the *Pager* and *zera markai* ceremonies (pp. 128, 133), and all the *keber* ceremonies; hence these are of more recent origin in the Murray Islands than is the Bomai-Malu cult.

There are several points which are not quite clear about this interesting and very important cult, for Mr Bruce states that "Waiet's *zogo* of *kog lu* (erotic charm, or adultery thing) was a very powerful *zogo* ranking next in importance to Bomai." The natives emphatically state that it was more recent than that of Bomai and that it was introduced from the west. In the west Waiet was clearly associated with the *markai* ceremonies, which he and Naga are stated to have introduced from New Guinea (Vol. v. pp. 48—55); many, if not all, of these came along with the cult to the Murray Islands (p. 273), where they were added to, or incorporated with, the original death ceremonies, for it is impossible to believe that all funeral ceremonies were introduced by Waiet. According to Mr Bruce, all the Miriam, but according to my inquiries only some of them, were associated with this *zogo*, in either case it is significant that the participants were not confined to any one of the main groupings of the Miriam, but were open to *Beizam boai*, *Zagareb le* and *Dauereb le* (pp. 172, 173). The essential cult of Waiet was apparently primarily of an erotic character, and two alternatives present themselves: (1) either this was an old cult which was reorganised somewhat on the lines of the Bomai-Malu cult, after the introduction of the Waiet cult, in which case a syncretism has taken place; or (2) the erotic element formed part of the original cult and was introduced with it into the Murray Islands. I am inclined to take the former view as there is no indication in the western folk-tales of an erotic tendency on the part of Waiet.

In the cult of Waiet we have a record of the worst side of the character of the Miriam, for, reading between the lines, it is evident that the initiates, masquerading as Waiet, actually did defile women and girls and perform other abominations, but it is only fair to add that we have obtained no other record of sodomy. We have no information whether the nefarious practices of the initiates were indulged in whenever desire or opportunity arose or were confined to an annual period of license.

THE CULT OF BOMAI AND MALU¹.

By A. C. HADDON AND C. S. MYERS.

THE cult of Bomai and Malu was a very important factor in the social and religious life of the Miriam. It consisted of the following elements:

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THE ORIGIN AND NATURE OF THE CEREMONIES.

Although the initiation and other ceremonies connected with the cult of Bomai and Malu were of supreme importance to the Miriam, it is interesting to note that they were admitted to have been introduced by natives of the western islands.

It would seem that the most sacred element in the cult centred round the person of Bomai. He was called upon in time of danger, as for example: when a canoe capsized, or, when someone was ill, a man of the *Beizam boai* would go to the house where the Bomai mask was kept and implore help for his sick friend.

Attention has already been called (footnote 1, p. 37) to the fact that there is some apparent confusion as to the identity or duality of Bomai and Malu. In nearly all the accounts, collected by ourselves and others, of the legendary origin of the cult the name of Malu alone appears, but one of us has obtained information mainly from Groggy and Enoka which makes it certain that these were two distinct individuals. We have sufficient evidence to prove that the name of Bomai was too sacred to be imparted to a non-initiate. No difficulty was experienced by us or others in learning

¹ A short account of this cult was published in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* (Bd. vi. 1893, pp. 140—146, with one coloured plate) by A. C. Haddon.

the greater part of the myth of origin, but the hero who came to Mer was invariably spoken of as Malu. It was only under exceptional circumstances that we were informed that the name of this hero was really Bomai, and that Malu came later. The only explanation we can offer is that in ordinary narration the name of the less sacred individual was employed as a cloak for that of the more sacred. Indeed we were definitely told that *agud* was the *au nei*, "big," i.e. important or general "name"; Malu was the *kebi nei*, "small name"; and Bomai the *gumik nei* or "secret name"—it was described as "big *zogo*."

Bomai came from Tuger, a place beyond the boundary between British and Netherlands New Guinea, and underwent numerous metamorphoses and various adventures during his wanderings amongst several of the western islands of Torres Straits. According to one account, on his way as a canoe from Nagir to Yam he gave origin to two men Sigar and Kulka; Sigar remained at Yam, and later Kulka stayed at Masig. According to another version, four brothers Bomai [Malu], Seo or Seiu, Sigar, and Kulka came from Muralug; Sigar stopped at Yam¹, Kulka went to Aurid, and Seo to Masig, while Bomai went to the Murray Islands. Maino of Tutu and Yam said that Malu, who went to Mer, was the eldest brother, and Sau, who went to Masig, was the youngest; Sigai and Maiau of Yam and Kulka of Aurid were also brothers of Malu, these three could be seen by the same men, who were not permitted to see Malu or Sau. Apparently Bomai was the maternal uncle, *wadwam*, of Malu; Dr Rivers has pointed out (Vol. v. pp. 134, 144) the importance of this relationship. On arriving at the Murray Islands, Bomai at first went to Dauar and Waier, but finally went to Mer. Bomai appeared to a Miriam woman named Kabur who lived with her husband Dòg at Aud immediately behind Terker. She recognised him as a *zogo*, in spite of his being in the form of an octopus. Later her brothers, Dam and Samekep (who lived at Dam), at the instigation of the Las men, stole the *zogo* from Dòg. Eventually Dòg allowed the Las men to keep Bomai (pp. 33—40, 44—46).

The *Omai le* (Dog men), *Daumer le* (Pigeon men), *Geregere le* (*Geregere*-bird men), *Beizam le* (Shark men), *Wazwaz le* (*Wazwaz*-shark men), and *Zagareb le* came from Tuger to seek Bomai; on their way they were joined by the *Nagirem le*² from Nagir and the *Sigarem² le* from Yam and Tutu, and also by men from Waraber, Parema, Aurid, and Masig.

Malu came in the canoe with the *Sigarem le*. Eventually the canoes came to Dam and Las, and, after they had outstayed their welcome, the visitors gave an exhibition of the Malu dances on the sand-beach at Las, and the *Nagirem le* and *Sigarem le* told the Las men that the dance was thenceforth theirs and that it was connected with Bomai and Malu. Malu, who was a man with a shark's head, stopped in a canoe off Dam, the *Nagirem le* speared him and threw him into the sea; he was picked up by Tagai, a Las man, who took him to the shore and placed him on some logs of coconut wood. The visitors returned to their homes (pp. 40—44).

¹ In Pasi's version of the legend (Vol. III, p. 233) the word *amege* is unfortunately translated "by oven" (*ame*, earth-oven), but Am is the Miriam name for Yam island; what Pasi meant to say was that Sigar stopped at that island.

² On pp. 41—44 these names are spelt as they were ordinarily pronounced, but the suffix *-em* is more correct.

This is part of a hero-cycle of which versions of other sections have been previously narrated (cf. Vol. v. pp. 64, 375), but these accounts make the heroes come from Australia, like Kwoiam, the western war hero; whereas the Miriam, who appear never to have had any dealings with Australian natives, refer the seat of this cult to the mainland of New Guinea, but, be it noted, much further to the west than any part which they were in the habit of visiting.

One or two incidents are related of "Malu" (probably it was really Bomai) which do not occur in the folk-tales as told to us. We were informed that he made the two water-holes, Warber and Goi¹, which lie behind Las. On the other hand, a folk-tale records that they were made by Iruam (p. 7) and Mr Bruce informs us that they really had nothing to do with Bomai. These two names occur in the ritual songs (pp. 297, 300, 302). We can only suppose that the names of these water-holes have become confused in the minds of some natives with those of the islands of Waraber and Goi (footnote 1, p. 302).

Malu drank the water at Izib, the creek at Kiam (p. 299). It is supposed that if anyone now drinks this water his body will swell up to an abnormal size, as happened to Malu. Mr Bruce states that there are many other restrictions connected with Izib or Kiam, but we have no information as to what they are.

We regret we cannot throw any light upon the origin or significance of Bomai and Malu beyond what is mentioned in the legend. It is interesting to note that all the animal dances—dog, Torres Straits pigeon, *geregere*-bird, shark, and *wazwaz*-shark—probably came indirectly from the mainland of New Guinea, where totemism is still rife, but directly from the western islands. Their possible relation to totemism has already been discussed (p. 255).

This cult appears to have developed into a secret society or religious fraternity which took upon itself disciplinary functions; indeed it was very similar to some of the secret societies that are found in Melanesia.

There can be no doubt that the Bomai-Malu *zogo le* frequently utilised the power which their position gave them for purely personal ends. For example, Mr Bruce says that Koit (Las, 14A) was the only man who is known to have had as many as three wives at the same time. As he was one of the chief *zogo le* connected with Malu he could no doubt have had more, should he have wished for them, as all he had to do was to go into a village and commandeer whatever women he wanted for himself and his friends, and no one would dare to refuse or obstruct him, on penalty of getting their homes burned down, their gardens destroyed, or possibly of being killed through *maid*.

Payment, apart from a present of food, was not necessary to ensure initiation, and though there were grades there was no advancement in rank. One well-marked feature of the cult was that certain functions of the various ceremonies could be undertaken by men of definite districts only. The Murray Islands were so small that everything was strictly regulated, every man's position was perfectly well known, and his social and religious duties were fixed by the mere fact of parentage (real or by adoption),

¹ These are shallow surface holes which are always dry, except in the rainy season when the ground is saturated with water, they then hold a little brackish water for a very short time. Mr Bruce says that in former days the natives had no wells, or vessels for catching rain-water, excepting shells, so doubtless even these poor water-holes were acceptable to them.

or perhaps it would be more correct to say that they were fixed by his father's dwelling-place.

We may take it for granted that every man was born with prospective privileges, but he could enjoy these only after undergoing certain ceremonies. At all events this applied to the majority of males. There were a certain number, such as the *Tebud* of Peibre, who had no right to participate actively in these ceremonies, though they provided food for the ceremonial feasting; and further there were the *Nog le* of Gigo who took no part whatever in the cult.

The entrance into the fraternity consisted of two initiation ceremonies. The ceremony at Dam was probably connected with the wandering of Bomai, and that at Gazir (or Kiam) was the important occasion upon which the sacred masks were exhibited to the initiates. The initiates were instructed in social, economic, and ethical procedure and were warned not to reveal the secrets, the warning being enforced by terrorising and even ill-treatment. A public ceremony took place at Las, which was a virtual acknowledgment that the youths had been duly initiated and were thenceforth to be recognised as members of the fraternity; it was on this occasion that the animal dances were performed. Finally when a man died he was entitled to certain funeral ceremonies according to his status.

THE PLACES AND TIMES OF THE CEREMONIES.

The three sacred grounds, *au kòp*, where the initiation ceremonies were held, were at Dam, Gazir, and Kiam. The *kòp* of Dam was situated in the bush about twenty-three metres (25 yds.) from the sand-beach; that of Gazir was situated on the plateau south-east of Las in a brake of bamboos; the *kòp* of Kiam lay between the bed of the stream and the sand-beach.

The ceremonies held at Dam were peculiar to that place, those performed at Gazir and Kiam were of the same nature, but the former were the more important; this fact is curiously illustrated in the *kamut* (string-figure) intended to represent these two sacred grounds, in which Gazir is indicated by the larger ring (cf. Vol. IV.).

When ceremonies took place a *Malora gelar*, taboo for Malu, was placed on the sand-beach opposite to each end of the particular *kòp*, and no unauthorised person could pass that way. The *gelar* was indicated by *wis*, or tall bamboos decorated in a particular manner (fig. 48, p. 247).

At all three spots there was a sacred house, *pèlak* or *pèlag*, in which the emblems were kept. The *pelak* (pl. XXX.) was of the conical shape characteristic of the ordinary dwelling houses.

In referring to another matter, Mr Bruce wrote that the site of his house, which is in Nani-pat at Baur, was one of the *zogo* places in connection with a Malu ceremony; that was one of his principal places, or *giz*. Another Malu ceremony was held at Gigred, but that was considered of secondary importance. Both these places are in Peibre. Nani-pat was the furthest place Dòg reached in his walk on the day after he had obtained Bomai (footnote 2, p. 39); the following day he reached Begegiz, which is adjacent to Gigred. Unfortunately we have no knowledge of the ceremonies which were carried on in these

two places, we should probably have heard of them had they been important; and it is hardly likely that the *Tebud* (p. 287) would have any particularly sacred rite connected with the cult.

Begegiz, where Malu first landed on Mer (p. 37), and Aud, where he was first housed, are held in reverence; at these and the other *Malora zogo ged* (Malu's *zogo* places) there is always a clump of bamboos.

It was remarkably difficult to get precise information as to when the Bomai-Malu ceremonies took place or to ascertain the exact order of what took place; all the accounts were vague and often contradictory and therefore we cannot vouch for the absolute accuracy of the following account of the sequence of the events.

The ceremony at Dam.

The Gazir ceremony of initiation and exhibition of the sacred masks was held early in the morning of a day at the beginning of the south-east monsoon, that is about April.

The public ceremony with the Malu dances took place on the afternoon of the same day on the sand-beach at Las.

At the beginning of the following south-east monsoon the Bomai mask was transferred from Gazir to Kiam, where it remained all through that dry season.

When the rains began, the Bomai mask was taken back to Gazir and remained at Dam during the north-west monsoon. One informant said it remained for one year at Dam before passing on again to Gazir.

So far as we could make out, the first ceremony took place at Dam and lasted for two days. The following year the ceremonies took place at Gazir and Las; one informant said they sang "*Emare*" for three days and *magur* appeared on two nights. The final ceremony took place at Kiam the following year and lasted for one or two days. Thus the whole cycle took three years to complete. The Bomai mask was worn only at the Dam, Gazir and Kiam ceremonies, and there was a *pelak* for this mask at each place. The Malu mask never left Gazir.

THE PARTICIPANTS.

As was previously mentioned (pp. 169—178) the whole of the Murray Islands were divided into districts, the male inhabitants of which had actual or potential rights in virtue of hereditary domicile. The same applies to the right to participate and the method of participation in the Bomai-Malu cult. The following are the main groups of the Murray Islanders: the *Beizam boai*, the *Zagareb le*, the *Tebud* and the *Nog le*; the location of each group is given in the description of that group. The subsidiary groups will be dealt with in due course.

Apparently there was a similar or analogous cult in Erub, as half of the *Erub le* might come over as visiting members to witness the "working of the lodge."

Beizam boai. The most important members of the Bomai-Malu fraternity were the *Beizam boai*, or *Beizam le*, Shark brethren, or Shark men. On the western side of the island they resided in the villages from Zaub to Larte, inclusive, and on the

eastern from Dam to Warwe and from Mergar to Terker; thus they belonged to the geographical divisions of Kòmet, Samsep (in the larger sense) and Mergarem (excluding Werbadu). At the southern end of the island, the small bay of Keauk was allocated to the *Beizam boai* of Dauar when there was a *gelar*, taboo, on that island. The Dauar *Beizam boai* lived at Giar, the western sandspit, and possibly elsewhere, as Kilarup (Dauar, 28) was a *Beizam boai*.

The Bomai and Malu masks were described as the *agud* (p. 245) of the *Beizam le*.

The *Beizam boai* consisted of two grades, the *zogo le* and the *tami le*. They had charge of the sacred emblems and slept in the bush close to the *pelak* (p. 284) probably before and certainly at the time of the ceremonies, and for some weeks after; finally they washed in the sea and went home.

Zogo le. The *zogo le* were the temporarily sacred men (or perhaps more accurately the *zogo* men) among the *Beizam boai* who were entitled to wear the masks and take the leading part in all ceremonies, and in virtue of their office they received all the presents of food. At any one time there were only three of them: the head *zogo le*, who wore the Bomai mask, one called *es le* (or *emes le*), and the man who wore the Malu mask.

The office of head *zogo le*, at all events, was hereditary in the Bòged family (7) for three generations. Malo (which is the same word as Malu) was the earliest holder of this office of whom we have any record, he was succeeded by his only son Narai, Kabai and Aumad followed their father. On the last occasion on which the ceremonies were held, Arus¹ (Warwe, 16) wore the Bomai mask. We are told he carried the mask from Gazir to Kiam. On this particular occasion, Koit (Las, 14 A) was *es le* to Arus, and Eski (Las, 14) wore the Malu mask. In 1889 one of us was informed that Aumad was the last *zogo zogo le*, which looks as if the authority of Arus as head *zogo le* was inferior to that of his predecessor.

An informant stated that on one occasion Mapoi represented Bomai, Ebui (? Giar pit, 27) was *es le*, and Marau represented Malu; but we cannot check this statement as we have no means of finding out who Mapoi was.

Tami le or Keparem le. *Tami le*² was the *au nei* and *keparem le* the *kebi nei* or *gumik nei* for the same people, sometimes they were called *kadik le*. The first name may be derived from *tamer*, a club. The *keparem le* were so called from their holding a wand, like an arrow, *kep*, in their hands. According to Mr Bruce any pointed piece of wood sharpened like an arrow, even without barbs, is called a *kep*. The term *kadik le* referred to the ceremonial gauntlet they wore.

The Samsep *le* and Piaderem *le* (cf. Map p. 170) were the *keparem le* or *kadik le*³. The Giar *le* on Dauar were also *tami le*.

The *tami le* or *keparem le* of Arus (see above) were Aisi (Sebeg, 4 B), Komaberi

¹ Kabai had a grandson named Arus, who was probably too young to have become a *zogo le*, as by the time he had grown up the cult must have been practically obsolete. We do not know why Kabai's only son did not succeed his uncle Aumad. We have the distinct statement that the latter was followed by Arus, the father of Mamai.

² We frequently obtained the word *tami leb*, indeed the two were certainly interchangeable terms. For the suffix *-eb* see Vol. III. p. 57.

³ But this did not preclude some of them being also *zogo le*.

(Keweid, 3), Oبرا (Saugiz, 6), and Gobai (Warwe, 16 c). The *tami le* of Koit was Iu (Giar pit, 27) and afterwards Egòd (Dauar, 28). The *tami le* of Eski was Geigi (Er, 18 B).

The *tami le* ranked next to the *zogo le* and assisted them in various ways both before the ceremonies and after them. More than once they were described as "all same cook for *zogo le*," that is they acted as attendants and cooked the food for the *zogo le* at the ceremonies. It was said of Gobai that he "made fast Bomai," that is he tied up, or made secure, the Bomai mask. They lined the avenue down which the three *zogo le* passed from the *pelak* to the *kèsi* at the Gazir ceremony (pl. XXX.).

Zagareb le. The *Zagareb le* were the male inhabitants of Meaurem and Zagareb at the north end of the island, and of Geaurem and Werbadu in the east.

They were the *warup le*, or Drum men, who alone could beat drums; they sang the songs and led the dances, hence they were sometimes called *wed le*, Song men.

Tebud. The *Tebud*, or *Malora tebud*, "Friends of Malu," were the *Peibre le* (or *Dauer le*) who lived along the eastern coast from Baur to Dedamud or Pas (one informant said between Pas and Begegiz).

They claimed to be both *Beizam le* and *Zagareb le*. Perhaps because they provided food for both classes at the ceremonies. They, or some of them, laid special claim to be *Beizam le*. There was considerable difficulty in ascertaining the true rank of the men living from Baur to Begegiz or Gigred (inclusive), the explanation appears to be that at the extreme ends of this area there were two spots sacred to Bomai (p. 284), and it was probably for this reason that these *Tebud* claimed affiliation with *Beizam*. More than one informant said, "*Tebud* no see Malu, *Warup le* see Malu," which apparently means that the *Tebud* were not initiated, and therefore were not allowed to see the sacred masks.

Their function was to provide food for those engaged in the ceremonies; the food was probably given to the *tami le* and *Zagareb le* as the *kèsi* provided food for the *zogo le*.

The smaller groups who participated in the Malu ceremonies were:

Omai le. Those *Beizam boai* who lived at Zaub and those *Zagareb le* who lived at Mek and Er were also *Omai le*, or Dog men.

Daumer le. Those *Beizam boai* who lived at Bòged, Las and Areb were also *daumer le*, or Pigeon men (*daumer* is the Torres Straits pigeon, *Carpophaga luctuosa*).

Geregere le. Those *Beizam boai* who lived at Zaub and Areb were also *geregere*¹ *le*.

Owing to a similarity in the names the Rev. J. Hunt (*Journ. Anth. Inst.* xxviii. p. 5) mistook *Geregere le* to mean "sun people," and he definitely states that the *gereger* (sun) was the "totem" of the *Oparam le* clan who resided at Zaub and the duties of the clan were to imitate the rising and setting sun. As a matter of fact *geregere* in this instance has nothing to do with the sun, the *geregere* being a small migratory bird that comes to Murray Island just before the north-west monsoon sets in and leaves about the end of April. The bird has a red breast and black head and wings, it was described

¹ The word as sometimes pronounced might be spelled "*gregare*" or *girigiri*.

as "all same *ti*," that is, it resembles the sun-bird (*Nectarinia*). The bird was called a *zogo ebur*, *zogo* animal.

Wazwaz le. The *Wazwaz le* lived only at Kameri and Ormei on Dauar.

The *wazwaz* was described as a shark with "whiskers" and very small eyes; one informant said it was also called *im*, in which case it would be the *Chiloscyllium*, a kind of dog-fish (cf. Vol. v. p. 45).

Mr Hunt (l. c. p. 6) was informed that the *Wazwaz le* built the sacred houses.

The men of these four groups performed their respective dances at the *Las* ceremony (p. 308, pls. XXV., XXVI. fig. 1). These dances were introduced to Mer by Western Islanders (p. 43). The significance of these groups has been discussed by Dr Rivers (p. 173) and allusion has been made to them on p. 255. They appear to have been specially affiliated to *Beizam*, but some *Omai le* were *Zagareb*.

Kèsi. When fathers saw signs of approaching manhood¹ they decided it was time to initiate their sons into those cults to which they were eligible.

We understood that the lads could begin their initiation at any one of the three triennial ceremonies of the Bomai-Malu cult. The restrictions of the *kèsi* lasted until the end of the first south-east season, that is for about six months; during this period they remained on or near the sand-beach which was then *gelaar*, they were not allowed to play, and the old men instructed them. One informant said that the father took his son to the *kòp* and instructed him and the father obtained and prepared the food². The *zogo le* gave to each *kèsi* a *daumer lub* (black-tipped white feather of the Torres Straits pigeon mounted on a stem so that it vibrated readily, fig. 58) which was worn in the hair, and each also received a special kind of belt called *krus wak* (p. 292). The *kèsi* were not allowed to cut or dress their hair for one year, under a penalty of death. After the following north-west monsoon had begun they were allowed to dance, sing, paint or otherwise decorate themselves³, and they had all the privileges of men. At the beginning of the following south-east season they had a secular dance, *kap*. The *kèsi* of the second year were termed *ume le*, "those who know," and were taught to sing during that south-east season.



FIG. 58.
Daumer lub.

(Non-participants in the Malu Ceremonies.)

Nog le. The *Nog le* or outside people, that is "foreigners," are descendants of those who came from other islands after the Bomai cult was established. There were very few of them, and they had no part in the ceremonies. Even when they died, only dance

¹ A small boy is called *nokòrot* (*no* bare, *kò* groin); when pubic hair, *kò mus*, appears, which takes place when about thirteen years of age, he is called *makèrêm*; an initiate was called *kèsi*.

² This is a significant advance upon the western custom, where the lad was in the charge of his mother's brother, *wadwam* (Vol. v. pp. 147, 208, 212, 213, 216).

³ No lad could have the lobes of his ears cut at the *paier* of a relative (p. 154) until he had been presented to Bomai.

songs, *kap wed*, were sung over them, instead of the *zogo wed* of the *Beizam boai* (p. 145) or the distinctive ceremonies of the *Zagareb le*.

According to Mr Bruce the existing *Nog le* in Mer are Kalki of Warwe (16 B), Sali or Biro of Sebeg [who is evidently Charlie Boro of Mad (5 A)] and Aki of Gigo (22) (the Gigo *Nog le* came from Waraber). The Dauar *Nog le* are Wasalgi and his relatives (Teg, 23), and the Waier *Nog le* are Kriba, Smoke and their relatives (29). The Dauar *Nog le* lived at the base of the sandspit that faces Waier and the Waier *Nog le* lived on the corresponding sandspit.

The term *Nog le* was applied to all those who did not belong to any given cult; the above were simply *Nog le* as regards the Bomai-Malu cult. When the *irmer gali* was held, the ceremonial Malu drums were beaten by *Nog le* (p. 196); perhaps in this instance they were *Beizam boai*, as the proper *warup le* were all *Zagareb le* and consequently were the *zogo le* of the *irmer zogo*.

RITUAL DECORATION AND RITUAL OBJECTS.

The *zogo le* during the ceremony of the exhibition of the masks were painted red all over, and each was clad in a petticoat of *zi* leaves (*Avicennia officinalis*), the *es le* alone wore five *daumer lub*, which stood erect in his hair.

The Bomai mask was made of turtle-shell, painted red and with white feathers stuck all over it. In 1889 one of us vainly endeavoured to get models made of the Bomai and Malu masks, as the originals had been destroyed, and it was only with great difficulty that we succeeded in 1898 in persuading Wanu and Enoke to make models for us out of the cardboard with which we provided them¹. Fig. 59 is a sketch of the Bomai model, which is now in the Cambridge Museum. The face is about 45 cm. long, the projection measures an additional 15 cm., the breadth being about 40 cm. The nose is modelled in beeswax, the eyes, which are *wada* beans (*Mucuna*), are set in wax, a strip of wax extends along the eye bar and another forms the lips. Five *daumer lub* and a tuft of croton leaves, *taibi*, are fastened to the vertical prolongation of the mask and a beard of human lower jaw-bones (in this case, only cardboard models) completes its decoration. In order to learn all we could about these masks we induced some natives to make drawings of them. Fig. 60 is a copy of a drawing made by a native in 1889; owing to the lack of any distinctive features of construction, it led to a mistake in the drawing of the Bomai mask in the publication referred to on p. 281.

The characteristic feature of this mask is that it consisted of bars, the only other example of this style known to us is the mask from an unknown provenance in the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford (pl. XXVIII. fig. 6), of which Mr H. Balfour has kindly sent us a photograph. This mask is 293 mm. long, the face is 168 mm. long and 228 mm. broad, excluding the remaining ear. The left ear and arm are missing, the right arm has only four digits. Several *gda* seeds (*Pangium edule*) are suspended to the lower crescent. Unfortunately no information is available with regard to this mask, but there is no reason to doubt that it came from Torres Straits.

¹ See *Head-Hunters, Black, White, and Brown*, London, Methuen & Co., 1901, p. 46.

A turtle-shell model of a turtle¹ was loosely tied on to the back of the Bomai mask, to it was attached a long cord, which was so held by the *es le* as to prevent it from flapping against the mask. The general character of the model made for us can be seen in pl. XXIX. fig. 3. The scutes are indicated by coloured lozenges, triangles and irregular figures, which are not at all true to nature, the central lozenges are coloured a slaty grey, as are some of the marginal scutes; some of the latter are red, and there is a row of red triangles on each side of the central row of lozenges; all the other spaces are painted yellow. A mouth and large eyes and numerous square scutes are painted on the head, the limbs and tail are decorated with numerous Λ -shaped bands of red, grey and yellow.



FIG. 59. Sketch of a model of the Bomai mask.

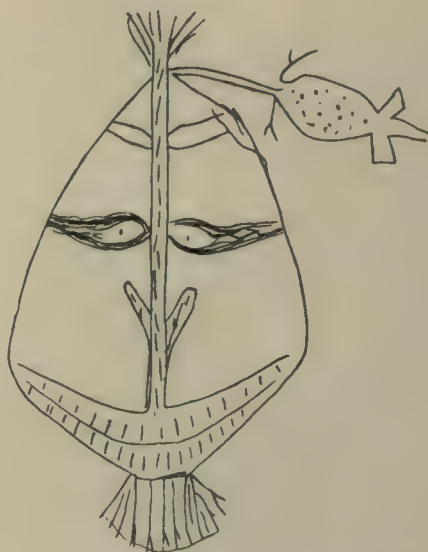


FIG. 60. Native drawing of the Bomai mask.

The Malu mask presented the greatest difficulties for its comprehension, as the cardboard model that was made for us (fig. 61) is obviously far too small and crude to give a correct idea of the original; the man shown in pl. XXIX. figs. 2, 3 is wearing this model. Probably the original form of the mask was somewhat similar to that so well figured by Dr A. B. Meyer ("Masken von New Guinea," etc., *Königliches Ethnographisches Museum zu Dresden*, Bd. VII. 1889, Taf. III.), which is stated to come from Mabuiag. Judging from the model and various sketches made by natives (figs. 62, 63), it represented a hammer-headed shark (*Zygæna*), but it was provided with arms and

¹ It may have been originally the real carapace of a shell-turtle (*Chelone imbricata*) with artificial head and limbs.

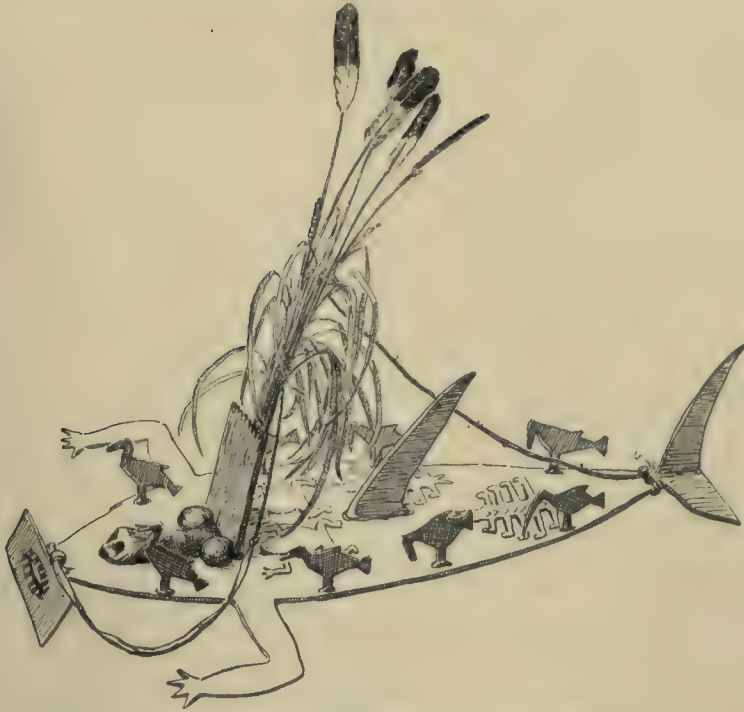


FIG. 61. Cardboard model of the Malu mask.

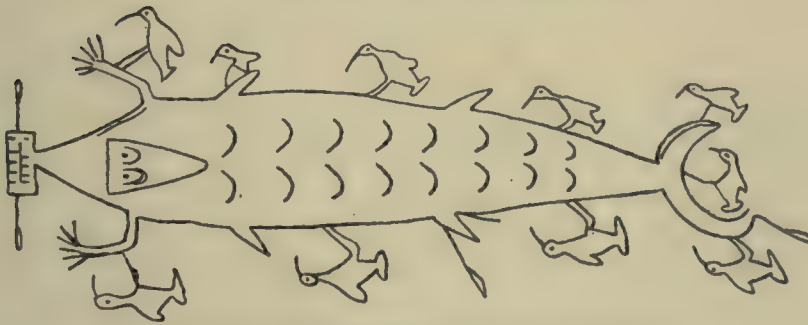


FIG. 62. The Malu mask as drawn by a native.



FIG. 63. Sketch by Wanu of the Malu mask.

a human face. Behind the latter was an erect panel of turtle-shell, from which projected five *daumer lub* and a spray of croton leaves, *taibi*. The mask was further adorned with turtle-shell models of birds, which were stated to be frigate birds (*karor*), and the white form of the reef heron, *sir* (*Demiegretta sacra*), and a small grey bird called *tòle*, as well as of centipedes, *isi*, and tree-frogs, *goai*. Doubtless the margin was further decorated with feathers. There can be no doubt that the mask was provided with a head-piece, as in Dr Meyer's photograph, which enabled it to be worn securely on the head of the *zogo le*. The Dresden mask is 1.25 m. (about 4 ft.) in length, and the Malu mask was certainly not smaller. On plate XXX, we have drawn what we consider to be a fairly accurate restoration of this mask.

The *keparem le*, as the *tami le* were termed during the ceremony of the exhibition of the masks, were painted red all over, and each carried a long black staff, hence the term *keparem le* (p. 286). A *daumer lub* was worn in the hair, which unfortunately is not shown in pl. XXX. These and, with the exception of the three *zogo le*, all the other participants were nude.

We are not aware that the *Zagareb le* were decorated in any particular manner, but they and all the other *ume le*, "men who know," that is, the older initiates, were painted red and wore *daumer lub* in the hair (fig. 64).

The *kèsi* of the *Beizam boai* at the same ceremony had their arms painted red, a vertical red band was painted along the middle line of the whole face, a red band extended from the middle of the nose across the right cheek only, and a red cross was painted on the navel. A *daumer lub* was inserted in the hair (p. 288). On the chest (pl. XXX.) each wore a pendant, of which the following is a description of one made for us (pl. XVII. fig. 6). A piece of delicate twisted string about 1.5 m. long is doubled on itself; 27 cm. from the loop is a ring of twisted cane surrounding a red *wada* bean (*Mucuna*), 6 cm. below this is another, and 5 cm. below that is a third; half a coix seed is strung on the lateral cord above each bean. Round the waist was worn a *kus wak*. The specimen made for us (pl. XVII. fig. 5) consists of a belt of four strands composed of *kus* seeds (*Coix lachrymæ*) with portions



FIG. 64. *Daumer lub* worn by the *ume le*¹.

¹ The more complete *daumer lub* consisted of a black-tipped feather of the Torres Straits pigeon inserted on a split ruddled quill, the object being to keep the feather in a constant state of quivering. The shafts of two white feathers were split in a zigzag manner, and one half of each was bent round to form a ring, these were tied to the base of the supporting quill, to which were also lashed two wooden spikes to serve as a comb. The total length of such specimens is from 35 to 40 cm.

of the antennæ of a crayfish, *kaier* (*Palinurus*), there are about a dozen seeds¹ between each portion of antenna, *kaier pis* (fig. 65). A tassel, worn at the left side, is composed of five *wada* beans and three loops of seeds and antennæ. In another specimen made for us the antenna-beads are replaced by tubes of the organ-pipe coral (*Tubipora musica*), two seeds alternating with two or three pieces of coral.



FIG. 65. Portion of a strand of a *kus wak* worn by the *kèsi*.

The *kèsi* of the *Zagareb le* were painted red, but the central part of the front of the chest was painted black, and this area was continued round the neck as a broad band, and obliquely downwards and backwards. We believe they wore the same decoration as the *Beizam kèsi*.

At the ceremony at Las the three *zogo le* were painted red and anointed with turtle-oil, then the white body feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon were plastered all over their face, body and limbs so that the skin was entirely covered and their features unrecognisable. The hair was not made into ringlets, *ed*. On the head was a coronet of cassowary feathers, in the centre of which were five black-tipped white feathers, *daumer lub*. Each held in his right hand five wands, *siwaimer* or *siuaimi* (p. 39 footnote 1), and a large gauntlet, *zogo kadik*, on the left arm, to the prolongation of which were fastened three *daumer lub*, green croton leaves, and *gòà* rattles (pl. XVII. figs. 2, 3, 4, pl. XXVI. fig. 1).

The *tami le* (*Beizam boai*), who joined in the revolving dance, were painted red all over with a black-tipped white feather uprising from the hair, which was made into ringlets. The older men held in the right hand a stick, *kep*, about a metre in length and painted red; on their left arm each wore the long ceremonial gauntlet, *zogo kadik*, which was decorated with croton leaves and *daumer lub* (p. 295 fig. 68). The younger men did not wear the *zogo kadik*, but carried a stone-headed club.

The *Zagareb le* were painted red and wore a *daumer lub*.

The *Omai le* were painted red, a long plume of cassowary feathers, *upi omai* (to represent a dog's tail), in the belt and a bunch of croton leaves hung down behind. A *daumer lub* was worn in the hair.

The *Daumer le* were painted red, except the hands and forearms which were painted black to represent the black wing pinions of the Torres Straits pigeon, the legs below the knees were also blackened. They wore on their heads a small semi-circular coronet of white feathers, from the centre of which projected a long filament, to the end of which was attached the usual black-tipped white feather *daumer lub*. A bunch of red croton leaves was inserted vertically at the back of the belt. They held in their mouths a bunch of *daumer lub* and leaves of a scented plant, *pas*, and of the "wild plum," *enau*.

¹ In an old *kus wak* in the British Museum there are generally fifteen seeds between each portion of antenna.

The *Geregere le* were painted red, and wore a wooden belt, *wōskor*, and a head-dress of bird of paradise plumes, *degem*, in the centre of which were inserted two diverging *daumer lub* attached to long fine stems, no cassowary feathers were worn.

We collected a human lower jaw provided with a thick fringe of Coix seeds, with some small shells intermingled among the seeds, and a loop for suspension round the neck (pl. XVII. fig. 8). We were informed that it was worn during the Malu ceremonies by the younger *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le*, but not by the *zogo le* or *tami le*.



FIG. 66. *Sauad*, an artificially deformed boar's tusk worn as an ornament.



FIG. 67. *Sauad* with tally notches.

During the ceremonies connected with Bomai at Gazir and Kiam coco-nut leaves only were used, all food was presented on coco-nut leaves by the *tami le* and everyone had to sit upon coco-nut leaves. This fact was kept a profound secret from the women and all outsiders, and if any one of them professed to know upon what Bomai sat, that person

was visited with severe penalties ranging from death to having his or her house burnt. The origin of this custom is explained in the legend of Bomai (p. 35 footnote 4). The use of definite mats for certain ceremonial purposes is also characteristic of the Western Islanders (Vol. v. pp. 65, 79).

When the ceremonies were over the important men wore a *sauad*, or artificially deformed boar's tusk. Two *sauad* that we collected had attached to them a couple of pigs' tails and one had three; it is possible that these were originally always present. One of our specimens (fig. 66) forms a complete circle, 10 cm. in diameter. The other (fig. 67) is a larger tusk, but the circle is incomplete, its chief interest lies in eight short lines incised near the point, which are tallies memorialising amatory adventures (pp. 251, 283).

The *sauad* were of great value as their production was not an easy matter and they had to be imported from New Guinea. Perhaps it was for this reason that imitation ones, *nasi sauad*, were made locally out of large Turbo shells, *nasi*. One very fine specimen (pl. XVII. fig. 7), now in the British Museum, was collected in 1889, it is 126 mm. (5 ins.) in diameter.

It was probably also after the initiation ceremonies were over that head men of the *Geregere le* wore the remarkable perforated pearl shell ornaments, which may be regarded as the most beautiful object worn in Torres Straits. Of these only three specimens are known to us. One, obtained long ago and loaned by the London Missionary Society to the British Museum (pl. XXIV. fig. 3), is about 115 mm. in diameter. A second, presented by Mr R. Bruce to the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow¹ (pl. XXIV. fig. 1), is about 120 mm. in diameter, and the third, collected by ourselves and now in the Cambridge Museum (pl. XXIV. fig. 2), is 110 to 117 mm. in diameter. Although these objects differ slightly from each other, it is evident the designs are essentially identical. We are not aware of any ornaments similar to these from any other locality, they do not appear to us to be characteristic of the decorative art of the Torres Straits Islanders, and there are no other examples of the technique of nacre fret-work, therefore we are inclined to look upon these objects as importations, but we cannot at present say from what part of New Guinea they originally came, for they certainly did not come from Australia.

The *zogo kadik* was a special form of arm-guard or bracer, *kadik*, which was worn by the *Beizam boai* (*zogo le*



FIG. 68. *Zogo kadik*.

¹ This specimen was stated to have been obtained at Motu-Motu, "The Decorative Art of British New Guinea" (*Cunningham Memoir*, No. x. Royal Irish Academy, 1894, p. 133, pl. VIII. fig. 128), but there can be no doubt that it is the badge of a *Geregere le*.

and *tami le* in connection with the ceremonies (pl. XXVI. fig. 1). It was longer than the usual form and from it projected a long rod, to the end of which were fixed one or more *daumer lub*. We obtained two specimens of recent make (fig. 68¹ and pl. XVII. fig. 2) which are decorated with croton leaves (*taibi*), *daumer lub*, and *gòda* seeds. The plaitwork construction of the *kadik* is different from that of the ordinary type, and resembles that which seems to be characteristic of the Fly River District of New Guinea (cf. Vol. iv.). In the Royal Ethnographical Museum in Dresden are two arm-guards (4956, 4957) from the mouth of the Fly River (pl. XVII. figs. 3, 4), which are so similar to the *zogo kadik* that we must admit that the Miriam type was borrowed from New Guinea; possibly these objects were sometimes imported, for, as we have already seen (p. 185), the Miriam had trading relations with the natives of Kiwai.

There were two sacred Malu drums, named "Nemau" and "Wasikor," the first was burnt by the crew of the *Woodlark* (p. 190). Wasikor (pl. XVII. fig. 1) is different in shape from the two kinds of drums (*warup* and *boroboro*) which occur throughout Torres Straits. It is 1.43 m. long and the tympanum is 20 cm. in diameter, the form and decoration are sufficiently well indicated in the figure (cf. pl. XXVIII. fig. 1, pl. XXX.).

The sacred Malu clubs, *saurisauri*, are beautiful examples of simple, unflanged, four-rayed, stone-headed clubs; the diameter of the head of the two specimens we examined is 28 cm. (11 in.) from point to point. The handle gradually tapers to the grip, the total length being 685 mm. (27 in.) in one specimen and 59 cm. (23½ in.) in the other. The grip is beaded. When used ceremonially the head-end was adorned with two white feathers which were split and the two halves bent round to form a circle (pl. XVII. fig. 1, pl. XXVIII. fig. 1). One specimen was owned by Dau (Ulag, 12), the other by Marau (Areb, 15 B). There is a third specimen of which we have no definite particulars, it is shown in pl. XXVIII. fig. 1; and we were told there were five *saurisauri* in all. It was impossible to persuade the natives to part with them.

According to Mr Ray the two disc-shaped stone-headed clubs of Malu were called "Waduli" and "Tamera" (the ordinary name for such clubs is *gabagaba*), they were carried by *Zagareb le*.

Bull-roarers were not employed in this nor in any of the hero-cult ceremonies of Torres Straits, they appear to belong to the oldest stratum of religion in this region.

RITUAL SONGS AND SENTENCES.

According to the tradition of the Murray Islanders, the songs used in the Malu ceremonies were introduced by the *Sigareme le* and the *Nagirem le* (p. 42), who could not speak the Miriam tongue. With one or two exceptions, however, the words clearly belong to the language of the eastern islands, and could never therefore have had their origin from Nagir or from other islands to the west. These songs thus present a striking contrast to the *keber* songs (p. 150), which are invariably in the western language.

¹ This specimen was made by Wanu; the gauntlet is 30 cm. long and the rod extends a further 53 cm. Stays which support the rod divide the surface of the gauntlet into areas which are painted red, black, and white; the rod and most of the stays are coloured red, the small oblique stays next to the rod are black.

Mr Ray finds many obsolete words and forms of grammar in the words of the Malu songs: he has dealt with this subject at length in Vol. III. p. 51. The original significance of the Malu songs is for the most part forgotten by the Miriam of the present day. They describe some of the words as "Malu words," and attempt to translate them into the vernacular. But even when the meaning of individual words is remembered, their sense in the context is generally quite unknown (cf. p. 128). Mr Ray has been able to suggest a translation of some of the difficult passages, and since we left the island Mr Bruce has endeavoured to obtain further information as to their meaning. But the interpretation of the words is still little more than a series of guesses.

Many of the songs unquestionably refer to the exploits and adventures of Bomai, Malu and their kin.

There was extreme difficulty in reducing these traditional songs to writing and in obtaining the meaning of the words. They appear to be disconnected phrases which suggest rather than describe events connected with the legendary history of Bomai and Malu. Even Mr Bruce says, "I can make no headway with the Bomai songs, no doubt the natives understand them to a certain extent; if they do not, they look as if they did."

It is very probable that the songs are mainly mnemonic, and that during the initiation period not only were the words and music taught to the initiates but the explanation was imparted, though this we were unable to obtain.

A. SUNG DURING THE EXHIBITION OF THE SACRED MASKS¹.

i. *Sung by the Zagareb le standing.* Air I. p. 151.

Wau² aka Maluet au adud leluti³ adud tereget i e a
Yea why Malu very bad man bad teeth

Warbir⁴ naukarikiluti⁵ i a Warbir dereble i i segura
Warbir haul me out Werbir dug out play

tuglei⁶ Bub! bub! bub!...he! he!
stand round

ii. *Sung by the Zagareb le sitting.* Air I.

Wau baurem kazi⁷ wapa baurem tabametalam⁸ baurem
Yea to fish spear child harpoon
baurem tabametalam baurem

¹ One informant said this song was first taught to the novitiates at Gazir and sung afterwards at Las when women were present, though perhaps they could not catch the words.

² This spelling has been adopted in the songs, as the word seemed to us to be pronounced in this way; in the Vocabulary it is spelled *wao*.

³ The restrictive of *le*. Cf. Vol. III. p. 60.

⁴ Warbir or Warber is a water-hole at Las (pp. 7, 283), more probably the island Waraber is intended.

⁵ Mr Ray (Vol. III. p. 50) says this is the Malu word for *naukarik*, take me up; but it may be *naukarik leluti*.

⁶ What follows is added from Mr Ray's version.

⁷ Mr Ray spells it *kasi*, it is the "Malu word" (Vol. III. p. 51) for the western *kazi*, a child or person, said in this instance to be a baby.

⁸ This was translated "all women are ready to carry." Mr Ray suggests that the word should be written *tabao metalam*, go out from house.

iii. *Uttered rapidly and without any break between the drum beats, when the masked zogo le were approaching.*

- (a) *Malu wasar¹ ged pitge noumoieda (?namarida)*
 Malu a small canoe at a point of land send away
- (b) *Bomai terpa kiaur-kiaur² terpa*
 Bomai rock oyster of lime rock oyster
- (c) *Bomai wabi lidge dasmerawem (variant: dasmerare)*
 Bomai you at the bones let him see (he) saw (you) many
Bomai kosker³ lidge dasmerawem
Bomai neur⁴ lidge dasmerawem
Malu terpa kiaur-kiaur terpa
Malu wabi lidge dasmerawem
Malu kosker lidge dasmerawem
Malu neur lidge dasmerawem
- (d) *Ged areg-areg, kaur areg-areg, pur areg-areg*
 Land eating island eating open spot⁵ eating
- (e) *Kaur abemed-abemed⁶, ged abemed-abemed*
 Island land
- (f) *Ged argem okabatager (variant: dosaker)*
 Land for eating mourn grieve
- (g) *Gedem Kaurem eker*
 For land for island ?make or left
- (h) *Pinar asak-asak, tol akes-akes, wap akes-akes*
 ?The Erythrina tree cutting ?a tree ?pricking harpoon pricking
Bomai lug arit-arit, Malu lug arit-arit
 Bomai things burns up Malu things burns up
- (i) *Irkes beizar, seb beizar Bomai irkes beizar seb*
 Trench stone fence, earth stone fence Bomai trench stone fence earth
beizar wali arit-arit, lug arit-arit
 stone fence cloth burns up things burns up

B. SUNG DURING THE DANCE OF THE BEIZAM BOAL. Air I. p. 151.

- i. *Wau aka Maluet uzer tararemeti Wabir naukarik leluti⁷*
 Yea why Malu paddle sticks fast again Wabir haul me out men
- ii. *Wau degem kerem o kerem derapeida e a isemadariei⁸*
 Yea bird-of-paradise head head is cut off . two roll it up in a mat

¹ Perhaps this is the canoe referred to on p. 38.

² Mr Ray reads *kaur-kaur*, islands.

³ Women.

⁴ Girls.

⁵ Or a large garden belonging to several men.

⁶ Mr Ray suggests that this is the adjective from *arbumeda*, pluck up.

⁷ In Mr Ray's version this is continued with "*Warbir direbli*," Waraber dig up.

⁸ One informant said that this was a foreign word, another said it was the "Malu word" for *itarati*, roll or fold up; in Vol. III. p. 51 it is translated "two put in a mat and roll up."

- iii. *Wau galbol iaba taiawa imadari Seii¹ padgege² ni kedgerge³*
 Yea whales they spout here (?at) Seii in the valley fresh water
- iv. *Wau weduli⁴ gereb⁵ kesge otaili⁶ Seii¹ padgege² ni*
 Yea club in the channel Seii in the valley fresh water
kedgerge³

These songs are each followed by the following words spoken in a whisper⁷.

- v. *Malu kopa⁸ isauado⁹ naukarik leluti isaua dararager¹⁰*
 Malu buttocks smear haul me out men smeared stick on

C. FUNERAL SONGS.

i. Sung to Air I. p. 151.

Wau aka¹¹ o adet¹² Maluet e padet¹³ a-au emarer¹⁴ emarer etc.
 Yea why holy Malu at the creek sways sways etc.

ii. Sung to Air II. p. 151.

Wau o weluba¹⁵ o lewerlewer¹⁶ a o meriba tamera¹⁷ o
 Yea pigeon's feather food our Malu's club
gulabora tamera a o weii weii etc.
 of dry banana leaves Malu's club alas alas

iii. Sung to Air III. p. 151.

- (a) *U Wau Izib¹⁸ eream o Izib a eream a o u wau*
 Yea Izib drink ye two! Izib drink ye two! yea
Izib e e dirker egwatur¹⁹
 Izib he sinks it pulls him down

¹ Seii is the name of the channel in the reefs between Mer and Erub; but Seii was the "brother" of Bomai (p. 37).

² *Pade* is "shout"; *pat* is a valley in which a stream flows more or less constantly.

³ Probably *gedge ge*, in the place there.

⁴ *Weduli*, or *Waduli*, is the proper name of Malu's disc-shaped club, carried by the *Zagareb le* (p. 296).

⁵ Perhaps derived from *ereb*, digging, *derebli*. ⁶ *?oaturi*, begin to stumble.

⁷ One of us has the following note: The old men whisper the sacred words "Take up Malu from the sacred ground; put wax on the drums. All these songs of Bomai we teach you, we give to you the sacred songs."

⁸ The "Malu word" for the Miriam *kip*, the buttocks; *kōp* is a sacred ground or tabooed spot.

⁹ *Isaua*, *sauado* a "Malu word" for the Miriam *esaua*, smear (Vol. III. p. 51), probably derived from *isau*, wax.

¹⁰ *Dararager* a "Malu word" for sticking two things together, like sticking pellets of wax on the tympanum of a drum; thus his legs were smeared with mud in the swamp.

¹¹ Mr Bruce thinks this word is here employed in a reproachful manner: "Why did you do so?" but it may be spoken to one for whom regard is held.

¹² For the use of the suffix *-et*, see Mr Ray, Vol. III. pp. 50, 60; Mr Bruce says this suffix has an endearing or playful significance analogous to "wifey" for "wife."

¹³ *Pad* or *pat*, a creek, watercourse or valley, such as *Izib*, to which this refers.

¹⁴ Mr Bruce thinks this means "he is glad." The *Bomai le* sing these songs with clasped hands and sway their bodies to the rhythm of the music. The music and the swaying appear both to be expressed by *e emati*, he sways, *wi emarari*, they sway.

¹⁵ Of the Torres Straits pigeon.

¹⁶ An informant said this referred to the food provided for the feather-clad (hence *weluba*) *zogo le* (p. 293).

¹⁷ *Tamer* is the proper name of one of Malu's disc-shaped stone-headed clubs (p. 296).

¹⁸ *Izib* is the stream or creek that flows through Kiam (p. 283). It is still said that anyone drinking the water in this creek will "swell up" and become ill. The two who drink are probably Bomai and Malu.

¹⁹ In the songs this word appeared to us to be pronounced *ewatur*.

- (b) *Wau Goi¹ wakoi² Goi ko eidarariei Goi baugem³*
 Yea Goi mat Goi again they two lift him out Goi turtle-shell
Wau kegar⁴ baugem e na baugem
 Yea stone turtle-shell he there turtle-shell
- (c)⁵ *Wau berderge e dirker egwatur. Wau Izib*
 Yea in the swamp he sinks it pulls (him) down. Yea (at) Izib
eream e dirker egwatur
 drink ye two! he sinks it pulls (him) down
- (d) *Wau ebereber deaber⁶ 'uma⁷ emarer*
 Yea swelling he swells we sways
- (e) *Wau ga irim erier ga irim erier. Wau Seii⁸ erier Seii*
 Yea and swallow drank and swallow drank. Yea Seii drank Seii
- (f) *Wau Kolka⁹ pasir¹⁰ Wau ses aka pasir Wau uma⁷ emarer*
 Yea Kolka pas Yea twig why pas Yea we sways

(Other funeral songs are given on pp. 152, 153, but of these we cannot make an adequate translation.)

At the close of all these funeral songs, the following words, zogo mer, are sung in a low tone (Air IV. p. 152):

- (g) *Iba abara lewer, kerem abara lewer si! si! si!*
 Jaw his food, head his food

and then these words are whispered:

- (h)¹¹ *Malu okasisi okasoksok, bamsilare tabamsilare*
 Malu sorry sorry many are troubled many are troubled again
batapilare tabatapilare bausakilare
 many grumble many grumble again many cut themselves (p. 154)
tabausakilare
 many cut themselves again

¹ A water-hole at Las (pp. 7, 283) is called Goi, but probably reference is here made to a western island (footnote 1, p. 302).

² The "Malu word" for *kuri*, a small soft mat said to come from Masig or Aurid, it is the western word *waku*.

³ The "Malu word" for *kaisu*. The word was also given to Mr Ray as *bau-gimia*, which is a western phrase meaning "on a spear" or "along a spear."

⁴ There is a *kegar* stone at Deiau in Mer.

⁵ Mr Ray combines this with (a) thus: *Wau Izib eream o Iziba Wau berder eream berderge e dirker egwatur*, as one of us also obtained it. It was sung in the bush, not on the beach. Mr Bruce sent us this version: *Uao, berderge eream, ederkir [e dirker] e gotara [egwatur]*. Yes, in the mud (you) drink from, dive he pulls you out (or drags out). *Uao, Isibge eream, ederkar [e dirker] e gotara [egwatur]*. Yes, you drink from Izib, (you) dive he pulls (you) out.

⁶ *deib*, elephantiasis, *eberi*, swell up. It almost looks as if Bomai became infected at Izib with the filaria that gives rise to elephantiasis.

⁷ The "Malu word" for *meriba*, we (inclusive plural).

⁸ Footnote 1, p. 299, probably in both instances it is the hero that is referred to.

⁹ A "brother" of Bomai" (p. 37).

¹⁰ The "Malu word" for *pas*, a general name for scented plants, thyme or scented grass.

¹¹ Very great difficulty was experienced in getting a translation of these phrases, Mr Ray and each of us obtaining different versions. Mr Ray's version reads: *Malu okasisi*, forgets; *bausakare* (cut up many things, or destroy, or many crouch down); *tabausakare*, cut up or destroy many things of another kind, or many others crouch; *bamesilare*, delay many, or many wait; *tabamesilare*, delay many of another sort, or many of another

D. THE ASASEM WED SUNG AT THE DEATH OF A BEIZAM BOAL. p. 130.

- i. *Biari*¹ *wegatua*² *Malita*³ *ardar-neba*⁴ *Malu Sigari*
 (At) Biari crawled on the sand Malu anointed Malu Sigar
kauara^{5 6}
 give
- ii. *Budge Agud Gazirem Damem Kiamem kemem*^{7 e} *kem-ataratele*^{8 9}
 In mourning Agud to Gazir to Dam to Kiam with belly filled

kind wait. Another version obtained by Mr Ray is: *Kase*, exceedingly; *okasoksok*, forget; *bamesilare*, delay many; *tabamesilare*, delay many (of a different kind); *bautapelare*, strike many; *tabautapelare*, strike many (of another sort); *bausakelare* (destroy many, or many crouch down); *tabausakelare*, destroy many (of another kind), or many others crouch down. Arei, the mamoose, would not admit "*bautapelare*, *tabautapelare*." By their form all these verbs are either reciprocal or intransitive.

The following meanings were also given:

okasisi, *okasoksok*, ye remember, ye forget (c. s. m. and a. c. n.); *bamsilare*, etc., ye make fast, ye loosen (a. c. n.); *batapilare*, etc., ye cannot do, ye cannot undo (c. s. m.), ye cannot either go up, ye cannot come back (a. c. n.); *bausakilare*, etc., ye depict or mark well, ye scratch out; *bamsilare*, many are troubled; *batapilare*, many are deaf; *bausakilare*, many are silent. On the whole we are inclined to take the versions in the text, which are due to Mr Ray, as they are consistent, all being signs of mourning. *Bamsilare* is voc., *bamesirida*, recip. and refl., *damesili*; *batapilare*, complain to one another or scold, voc. *bataparet*; *bausakilare*, voc., *esakeida*, cut.

It seems that the Miriam, in explaining them to us, attached opposite meanings to the members of each of these four pairs of words, although philologically this interpretation appears untenable. This opposition is implied by the prefix *ta-*, thus: *bakeam*, go; *tabakeam*, come; *ais*, take; *tais*, bring; cf. Vol. III. p. 65, last paragraph.

¹ Biari is a small island near Waraber, probably it is that known as Burar in the western language.

² To keep moving on the sand like a turtle.

³ *Malita*=*Malu-ita*, *ita* being derived from *id*, coco-nut oil. On p. 35 it was stated that Malu's body was anointed with charcoal and *id*, while his three brothers were allowed only to use charcoal.

⁴ *ardar-neba* may mean "seen" or "found in a hole"; *parda-neba* is a variant, perhaps this is *par-arda-neba*; *par*, a stone anchor; *neb*, a hole; but syntax requires *neb ardar*, instead of *ardar neb*. Mr Bruce says: "*Ad* or *par*, the stone anchor or the pole they used for anchoring canoes; *neb*, the hole in the reef suitable for anchorage, or the hole made in the sand by inserting the pole"; he regards *ardar-neba* as "found a good anchorage."

⁵ Mr Bruce translates this as "gave to" or "give"=*ikwar*; but *kaur* is "island," and *kaura* may mean "of the islands," but in this case it should have a noun after it, but it might be *kaur a a*.

⁶ Mr Bruce translates this song thus: "Malu anchored his canoe at Biari, his body was covered with oil, Malu crawled along the sand and gave to Sigar..." "It is thought what Malu gave to Sigar was orders that he and his other two brothers, Seo and Kulka, were to sit on their kind of mat, whilst he (Malu) had a special mat for himself" (footnote 4, p. 35; p. 294).

⁷ *kem*, with; the *em* and *e* seem to be added as a device to separate two somewhat harsh-sounding words. Mr Ray says *kem* is probably the noun "company," *kem-em*, for or with company.

⁸ Mr Bruce says this is "filled, as with food." In Vol. III. p. 147, *kem-osmeda* is given as "be filled with food" (lit. belly go out); on p. 175 *etatko* is translated "fill," and *iterati*, or *itarati*, which looks something like *ataratele* is translated "fold." Mr Ray suggests, "body folded (covered) [with mat]."

⁹ Mr Bruce freely translates this song thus: "Agud (Bomai) is mourning at Gazir, Dam, and Kiam with his belly filled with food." He says this *asasem*, or lament, was sung in the evening after sunset and continued until near daybreak and was sung only at the death of *Beizam le* belonging to Piaderem, Samsep, Mergarem, or Komet; the body was covered all over with the fine feathers of the *daumer* (Torres Straits pigeon), and round the brow was a cassowary feather head-dress (p. 145).

- iii. *Warbirge*¹ *terowaia*² *terimwaia*³ *adakerwaia*⁴ *Goige*¹ *waie*
 At Warbir to drink swallowing stealing women at Goi
terowaia terimwaia adakerwaia (repeated ad lib.)
 to drink swallowing stealing women

SYNOPSIS.

The following synopsis is suggested as a plausible summary of most of the incidents referred to in the foregoing songs and utterances. In all cases where Malu is mentioned, it is probable that it is Bomai who is referred to (p. 281).

Certain incidents appear to have occurred in the central islands of Torres Straits before Bomai reached the Murray Islands:

Malu crawled on the sand at Biari, a small island near Waraber (probably Burar), his body, unlike that of his companions, being covered with oil (p. 35). Sigar is here alluded to (D. i.), Kulka is mentioned (C. iii. f; p. 37), and doubtfully Seii (B. iii., iv.).

Reference appears to be made to Bomai's misconduct with women (D. iii.) at Goi, most likely the island of Guijar, near Waraber; this island is not mentioned in the legends, but probably the latter are very imperfect. In the same island two persons lifted him on a mat (C. iii. b). When Sigai and Maiau went to Yam the men brought some old mats, and "Sigai and Maiau went on to the mats, and the men lifted the mats and went, went, went" (Vol. v. pp. 65, 66); mats also play a conspicuous part in the Miriam legend (p. 35).

At Waraber Malu seems to have fallen into the sea (A. i.). It looks as if his paddle stuck fast (B. i.) and possibly caused him to capsize out of his canoe. The "*bub, bub, bub*" (A. i.) may refer to the sound caused by his sinking, and D. iii. to his swallowing some water. He was hauled out by his friends (A. i.; B. i.).

Malu sends away his small canoe at the island point (A. iii. a). This may refer to the breaking of his canoe owing to bad weather (p. 36). He then transformed himself into a whale (B. iii.), and eventually arrived at the Murray Islands. The stone fences which Bomai destroyed (A. iii. i) are probably those referred to on pp. 37, 38.

After his arrival in Mer, Malu⁵ (or probably Bomai) visited the swamp at Izib (C. i.; C. iii. a), into which he fell and was sucked under (C. iii. c). He was extricated by some men, and his buttocks were smeared with mud (likened to the pellets of wax

¹ Reference has already been made to these two places which are mentioned in songs A. i., C. iii. b. The two water-holes of that name at Las (p. 7) are denied by the natives to have anything to do with the Bomai-Malu cult. Warbir or Waraber is the name of an island lying to the west of Mer, and Goi is a small sand-bank near Waraber which the people of the latter island frequent for fishing and turtling, probably it is the western Guijar. The heroes of the Bomai cult visited several of the central islands of Torres Straits (p. 37; Vol. v. pp. 64, 375); these songs suggest that islands were visited other than those mentioned in the legends.

² *eri*, drink.

³ *irmi*, swallow; Mr Bruce translates this "water descending to (stomach)" and "to drink and wash your food down."

⁴ Mr Bruce translates this "hunting for women and girls." Mr Ray suggests this is the Mabuiag *adaka-waia*, send away; he does not know of *waia* as a Miriam termination (*ero*=eat, *eri*=drink, *eruam*=steal woman).

⁵ The syntax of C. iii. a refers to two persons drinking, we cannot explain this.

affixed to the tympanum of a drum) (B. v.). Perhaps it was on account of his body becoming inflated (C. iii. *d*) that the Miriam have put a taboo on drinking this water, and this taboo would be more efficacious through its association with the "holy Malu"; this incident does not occur in the legend. The "swaying" mentioned in C. i. and C. iii. *d* probably refers, not to Malu's fall, but to the swaying of the singers; Mr Bruce says, "when the Malu songs are sung one man, who is standing up, gives the time by clasping both hands together, which he swings to the rhythm of the song, and he and all the singers keep time with arms and bodies swaying while singing; this is also termed *waemarem*" [keep on swaying (imperative)].

It seems to be suggested that the *Agud* (Bomai) mourns at Gazir, Dam and Kiam on the occasion of the death of a *Beizam boai*, after having partaken of the funeral feast (D. ii.).

References are made to the two disc-shaped, stone-headed clubs of Malu, Waduli and Tamera (B. iv.; C. ii.; p. 296), to his fish-spear (A. ii.) and paddle (B. i.).

Malu is described as a "very bad man" (A. i.); the only explanation of this is his interfering with women (D. iii.), but that seems to have been a venial offence in Torres Straits, or perhaps the repeated statement (A. iii. *d, e, f*) of his "eating" land and islands may refer to him as a warrior who desolated and despoiled the places to which he came, but of this there is no direct evidence. Confirmatory of this view is the information that he ate bones (A. iii. *c*) and human heads (C. iii. *g*); we think this does not necessarily mean that he was a cannibal in the usual acceptance of the term (cf. Vol. v. pp. 301, 302), but it may refer to his having been a head-hunter like Kwoiam (Vol. v. pp. 71—75). It will be remembered that the Bomai mask (p. 289) had a beard of human lower jaw-bones, and the Aurid mask, which probably represented Kulka, was decorated with human skulls (Vol. v. p. 378, pl. XX. fig. 1). The teeth mentioned in A. i. may refer to these jaw-bones and not to his own teeth. It was probably his murderous behaviour which led to his being called a "very bad man" and caused many to grumble and mourn (C. iii. *h*).

THE CEREMONY AT DAM.

Slightly beyond the northerly end of the village of Las is the small spot known as Dam, where, about 23 metres (25 yds.) from the sand-beach, is situated the *au kòp* or sacred ground which contains numerous stones and shells associated with the cult of Bomai and Malu.

The shrine (pl. XIX. fig. 3), which is called "Bomai" or "Malu," is an irregular oblong area about 3 m. (10 feet) long and 1 m. (3 feet) wide, the long axis of which runs about N.W. by S.E. This is crowded with between forty and fifty giant *Fusus* (*Megalatractus aruanus*) shells of all sizes, which are arranged roughly in a north and south direction. Near the centre are two large *Murex* shells and a spider shell (*Pteroceras*), in the south-eastern corner are two baler shells (*Melo*). There are also one rounded block of coral (*Astræa*) and five blocks of stone, one of which is red and another a white foreign granitic rock, one is a piece of local volcanic ash and the remaining two appear to be of the local lava.

Extending south-west of the shell-shrine is a group of stones (fig. 69) that represent certain islands. The area covered is about 6 m. (20 ft.) by 8 m. (26 ft.)¹. All the stones appear to be of local black lava except "Garboi" which seems to be a foreign stone, and "Arper" which is a large piece of brainstone coral.



FIG. 69. Ground plan of the shrine at Dam.

There was a surprising difficulty in discovering what islands these stones severally represented. Subsequently to our investigations Mr Bruce paid several visits to this spot, and has also spent much time in endeavouring to clear up doubtful points as to the nomenclature and position of the several stones. In the accompanying diagram (fig. 69) we have combined our results with his and adopted the nomenclature which Gadodo (14),

¹ The following are the approximate distances of the stones from their neighbours: shrine to Sarib 46 cm., S. to Garboi 162 cm., G. to Aurid 106 cm., A. to Paremar 79 cm., Garboi to Masig 79 cm., M. to Waraber 2.4 m., W. to Goi 4.5 m.

Enoka (18), Wanu (15 A), Pasi (27), Mamai (16) and Harry (2) finally agreed upon¹. In the following enumeration we add in brackets the alternative names that were given to us on three separate occasions: Sarib (Paremar, Goi, Goi), Garboi (Arper, Waraber, Sasi), Aurid (Utui, Burar, Biari), Paremar (Waraber, Paremar, Arper), Zeg (Goi, Arper, Paremar), Arper (Bòra, Utui, Aurid), Yam (Aurid, Aurid, Sirib), Leok (Mermer), Masig (Sirib, Sirib, Au Kian), Au Kian (Zugared). Unfortunately the relative positions of these stones do not agree with the geographical positions of the islands which they represent. Two stones in the shrine represent Las and Piard, which are localities on Mer.

The *pelak*, or sacred house, was situated about 16—18 m. (18—20 yds.) to the north-west of the shrine.

When the ceremony was in operation a *gelar* was put upon the sand-beach at Dam, along which no uninitiated person was allowed to walk.

The officiators were: (1) the three *'zogo le* whose faces were covered with white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon; they did not wear petticoats, but they had a *zogo kadik* on the left arm and carried five wands; (2) four *kekem le*; (3) numerous other men, and (4) the *kèsi*.

The *kekem le*, or "Front men," took roots of lemon grass (*sarik*, *Andropogon nardus*) and dried them over a fire; these were then pounded and mixed with oil in two baler shells (*ezer*, Melo). Two of the *kekem le* took the shells and held them before the other two, and dipping their right index finger in the mixture they anointed them between the first and second toes², on the knee and shoulder on the right side, subsequently all the other men were similarly anointed.

When this was finished each of the *kekem le* took a large *Fusus* shell, *maber*, in each hand, and two stood side by side with outstretched arms and one leg held off the ground in a flexed position; the other two *kekem le* also held out their shells but they crouched behind the former. The remaining men formed up in lines crouching behind the *kekem le*, but they did not hold anything in their hands. This double row of men was formed on the south-eastern side of the *kòp* between the main group of stones and the stone representing Goi.

To the north-west of the main group of stones the three *zogo le* stood close together, and the *kèsi* clung round them in their fright and caught hold of their hands. There was neither singing nor drum beating.

As soon as the ceremony was over all went and bathed in the sea; on their return to the *kòp*, the *kèsi* were rubbed with coco-nut oil and painted with a red **A**-shaped mark on the face and a *daumer lub* was fixed in the hair. The *kèsi* were shown the stones, they were taught their names, and it was explained to them that the stones were placed there by "Malu." This information was obtained from Baton (Areb, 15), Gadodo and Pasi.

There was no suggestion that anything further took place at Dam except the appearance of Magur (p. 311). Evidently this was a sort of preparatory initiation ceremony in which the *kèsi* were instructed in the wanderings and arrival of Bomai.

¹ The later information accounts for the discrepancy between this account and that published by A. Schück in his *Stabkarten der Marshall-Insulaner*.

² The Torres Straits Islanders appear to have attached some importance to the space between the great toe and the second toe, cf. pp. 32, 238 and Vol. v. p. 61.

THE CEREMONIES AT GAZIR AND KIAM¹.

The ceremony at Gazir began with the entry of the *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le* into the sacred cleared area, *au kòp*. The latter carried the two large ceremonial drums, "Nemau" and "Wasikor" (p. 296), and the star-shaped stone-headed Malu clubs (p. 296, and pl. XVII. fig. 1); standing in the midst of the *Beizam boai* they began to recite a song describing the character and adventures of Malu (A. i., p. 297). The *Beizam boai* did not sing.

At length the song was ended and the *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le* sat cross-legged on the ground, the former surrounding the latter in a horse-shoe-shaped group, which was open towards the sacred hut, *pelak*. The two *Zagareb le* who beat the drums took up the most distant position from the *pelak*, and the stone-headed clubs were placed about midway on the inside of the arms of the horse-shoe. The initiates, *kèsi*, sat with the *Beizam boai* or *Zagareb le*, according to the group to which their fathers belonged. The *Omai le*, *Daumer le* and *Geregere le* sat with the *Beizam boai* or *Zagareb le* according as they belonged to either group.

After another song had been sung (A. ii., p. 297) an impressive silence followed, broken only by the slow and rhythmic booming of the sacred drums. From time to time between the beats, the *Zagareb le* quickly uttered beneath their breath some *zogo mer* concerning Bomai and Malu (A. iii., p. 298).

Under these solemn conditions, two files of *keparem le*² appeared from the bush behind the *pelak* and approached the open end of the horse-shoe-shaped group. Each bore in his hand a long black staff, which he held obliquely. Corresponding men in the two files faced one another. They advanced by side steps with limbs and body slightly bent, keeping their faces turned towards the group. After every three steps the *keparem le* halted and crouched slowly down with legs wide apart, leaning heavily with both hands upon their staves, which were inclined obliquely to the ground. In this position they turned their heads from side to side, now away from, now towards the *pelak*, as if they were expecting someone to appear therefrom. Thus alternately advancing and halting, at length the foremost pair reached the nearest of the *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le* beside whom they crouched³, and the remainder aligned themselves, turning their heads towards the *pelak*. Meanwhile the measured drum beats, and the hurried muttering of the verses concerning Bomai and Malu continued.

And now the drums were beaten more rapidly, as from the *pelak* emerged the three *zogo le* (pl. XXX.), wearing the sacred masks of Bomai and Malu. The first wore the

¹ This description is based for the most part upon the actual ceremony revived for and witnessed by us at Gazir and Kiam. On the latter occasion a cinematograph film was taken of the movements of the *zogo le*, from which the figures on pl. XXIX. have been enlarged and touched up; strictly speaking, the Malu mask should not have been worn, as it never came to Kiam. We have, further, various descriptions of this ceremony given by natives in 1889 and 1898.

² The *tami le* when performing the Bomai-Malu ceremonies were known by their secret name of *keparem le*.

³ In pl. XXX. the *keparem le* are represented as standing up—perhaps it would have been more accurate if they had been represented as crouching.

Bomai mask¹; his elbows were flexed, his palms turned downwards and his upper arms held against the sides of the body²; his legs were kept slightly flexed. The second *zogo le*, *es le*, guided the advancing Bomai mask by means of a rope held in his right hand; his arms were bent at a right angle, and he walked in a zig-zag direction. The third *zogo le* wore the Malu mask, steadying it with his left hand³, and walking with his left side advanced to the front.

Thus the three *zogo le* slowly made their way between the two ranks of the *keparem le*. Their step consisted in suddenly raising high the foot before it was brought down on the ground; it remained long on the ground before the other foot was next similarly raised. Now and again, the *zogo le* halted and made a crouching movement—"all same shark." Or they beat time for one or two seconds with great rapidity and then, standing on one leg, slowly raised and lowered the other foot two or three times. At length the *zogo le* had passed between the ranks of the *keparem le* and prepared to return as they came, by pivoting round counter-clockwise on the left foot, while the right was hit out as if to kick or thrust away someone (pl. XXIX. fig. 3), the drums being beaten rapidly.

After the *zogo le* had re-entered the *pelak* the *Zagareb le* began to sing again. The *zogo le* appeared a second and a third time to the *kèsi*, who had by this time heard all the sacred songs and had become familiar with the sacred masks of the Bomai-Malu mysteries.

Finally the *zogo le* received a large present of food from the *kèsi*, which was heaped up near the *pelak*. But only the *zogo le* might eat within it, the rest ate together outside⁴. The *Zagareb le* were not allowed even to enter the *pelak*, nor did they receive an offering of food from the *kèsi*, their food and that of the *Beizam boai* being provided by the *Tebud* (p. 287).

In the ceremonies at Gazir and Kiam, all the food was presented to the *zogo le* on coco-nut leaves by the *keparem le*, and all had to sit on similar leaves. This was kept a profound secret from the women and all outsiders; if any one of these professed to know upon what Bomai sat, that person was visited with severe penalties, which ranged from death to having their house burned down (footnote 4, p. 35, and p. 294).

The Ceremony at Kiam.

It appears that the Bomai ceremony took place at Kiam once every three years. At the beginning of the south-east season, when the turn came round, the Bomai mask was transferred from Gazir to Kiam. It was worn with all the circumstance of full ritual by the appropriate *zogo le*, who was supported by the *es le*; the two *zogo le* walked all the distance with the gait and gestures that were employed in the actual ceremony. They

¹ Mr Ray was informed that "Olai" was the *zogo nei* (sacred name) of this mask, even the name Bomai was withheld from the uninitiated.

² The photographs on pl. XXIX. do not quite represent this attitude. We believe the description to be correct, the discrepancy was probably due to the lack of practice of the performers.

³ Perhaps this would not have been necessary when the original mask was worn, probably he also held his arms in the same position as that of the first *zogo le*.

⁴ According to another account, the *zogo le* ate their food near, not within, the *pelak*, sitting apart from the rest, all of whom ate theirs together.

were surrounded by a number of men carrying coco-nut palm leaves, which formed a screen impervious to the gaze of any non-initiate. The mask remained at Kiam during that season and before the beginning of the north-west monsoon was returned to Dam.

The initiation ceremony was conducted precisely as at Gazir, except that the Malu mask was not employed; this, as we have seen, remained permanently at Gazir. The last *zogo le* who carried the mask across the island and performed the ceremony at Gazir was Arus (Warwe, 16), and Koit (Las, 14 A) was his *es le*. The third *zogo le*, Eski (Las, 14), acted on this occasion as a *keparem le*.

Apparently the *pelak* in which the Bomai mask was enshrined was demolished when the mask was removed and a new one erected for its return. It was made by all the Korog men and had to be finished in one day; the exact spot where it was built was called Mamgiz.

THE CEREMONY AT LAS.

On the day after the exhibition of the sacred masks to the initiates, a remarkable series of dances was performed upon the sea-shore near the village of Las (pl. XXIII. fig. 2). Women and children were allowed to witness it from beside the bamboo fence which separates the village from the sand-beach. Each group contributed its own dance, and these several dances of which the series was composed were again and again repeated in order, as the dancers, approaching from the south along the sand-beach, drew near to Las. The initiates took up a prominent position among the spectators outside the village fence.

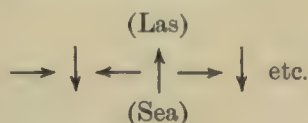
In the distance, towards the north, the dances were watched by the three *zogo le*, whose bodies and faces were covered with white feathers. At the beginning of the dances they took up their position south of Las; by the end of the dances they had moved north of the village. The women could see the *zogo le* but they did not know who played their parts. The old women were engaged in heaping up food before the *zogo le*. After the dances were over, a great feast was held.

Four *Omai le*, or Dog men, performed the first dance, coming into view at the stony point of Gazir¹. With bodies bent they ran towards Las, one pair behind the other; their arms swung to and fro and their hands threw up sand behind them at every step (pl. XXV. fig. 1). First they formed into two rows facing one another on their hands and knees; they advanced until their heads nearly touched and retired three times (pl. XXV. fig. 3). Next they lay nearly prostrate and threw their arms at full length on the sand, now a little to one side now to the other (pl. XXV. fig. 4). Then the last man on the left side skipped over the backs of the two men in front of him and crossing the space between the two rows of dancers skipped over the man of his own side; he resumed his position, and then the same action was performed by the other men. They repeated all the foregoing movements a second time in the same manner save that the last man on the right side was the first to leap over the others. Finally they retired to one side, where they remained motionless on their hands and knees.

¹ The description of the following dances is for the most part derived from the actual performances witnessed by us; one of us saw it in 1889, the details were similar on both occasions. We were told that the number of *Omai le* might be six instead of four.

Next came the *Daumer le*, or Pigeon men, six advancing in double file (pl. XXV. fig. 2); their elbows were flexed, their forearms and hands were held vertically. With their bodies and knees well bent, they lifted high their legs and, as if uncertain of their step, they dwelt long upon each foot as it rested tip-toe on the ground. The men of each pair then approached and whispered to one another something which was called *itmer*, "pigeon-talk" (lit. asking questions). This they repeated several times, sometimes standing but more generally in a crouching position as in pl. XXVI. fig. 1.

Then they wheeled round at right angles clockwise, so as to face the sea; whereupon they took three or four small rapid steps, almost "beating time," and leaped into the air, striking their breasts with the palms of their hands in imitation of the flapping of pigeons' wings, and turning to one another for a few seconds. Then they wheeled round at right angles in the same direction, and finally by a third wheel at right angles faced the village of Las (pl. XXV. fig. 3). The various positions assumed by the six *Daumer le* can be more clearly understood from the following diagram, the arrow indicates the direction in which they are all facing.



After the repetition of this dance, the *Daumer le* retired behind the *Omai le*.

Their place was now taken by the *Geregere le* (p. 287), who advanced in a crouching position with their knees and hips strongly bent. Each of them carried in his left hand five arrows held horizontally. Having advanced a few steps, the *Geregere le* stood erect and raised their arrows as high as possible, still keeping them horizontal, and brought them now across the front of the body. Then they struck the arrows with the palm of the right hand, making a rattling noise. At the same time they leaped three times from the ground. Then they slowly lowered the hand bearing the arrows, rattling them incessantly. Lastly they resumed the crouching position and advanced as before, once more to go through the same movements. Then they retired to one side to make room for the last group of dancers.

(We understand that in the complete ceremony, the *Wazwaz le* would dance next. We do not know their movements.)

These were the *Zagareb le* and *Beizam boai*, who approached together. The *Zagareb le* formed into a central group and sang the *atug wed*, a song describing the exploits of Malu (A. i., p. 297; B. i.—v., pp. 298, 299). They were surrounded by the *Beizam boai* who danced around them "counter-clockwise," i.e. with their left hand towards the centre of the group (pl. XXV. fig. 4). In the middle of the *Zagareb le* was a man who carried the Malu drum (pl. XVII. fig. 1)¹. The *Zagareb le* did not dance; they merely sang and beat the drum to the dance of the *Beizam boai*². At the opening of the song the *Zagareb le*

¹ In former times there were two drums (cf. p. 296).

² In the original dances we believe that this group was composed as follows: In the centre were the two *Zagareb le* who beat the Malu drums, they were surrounded by other *Zagareb le*. The *Beizam boai* formed two circles round the nucleus of *Zagareb le*, an inner composed of young men carrying clubs, and an outer of old men bearing staves, only the latter wore a *zogo kadik*. The circles revolved counter-clockwise round the central group as the whole mass gradually passed along the sand-beach in the same direction as the other dancers.

crouched; later they rose, as the *Beizam boai* danced around them. Two of the *Beizam boai* carried in the left hand the two stone-headed Malu clubs, which they passed to their neighbours during the dance. The man who held the club gave it into the left hand of the man behind him, who stepped forward to take the place of the former; thus although all received the club in turn its position with regard to the group did not alter. The *Beizam boai* continued dancing during the song of the *Zagareb le*, always advancing the same foot forward. From time to time, they cried out "Bua! Bua! Bua! He! He! He!" afterwards passing the clubs from one man to another. During these outbursts, the man who carried a club repeatedly lifted high the left leg, and held the left arm bearing the club straight in front of the body. At the close of the song the *Zagareb le* whispered certain words about Malu, which only the initiated might hear. They then joined the *Beizam boai* in a general cry of "Bua! Bua! Bua!," one or two of the dancers throwing up handfuls of sand which fell over the heads of the others.

Again and again the *Omai le*, *Daumer le*, *Geregere le* and *Beizam boai* repeated their several dances, and the *Zagareb le* their songs, always with the same words and to the same music, until at length the village of Las was reached.

Finally the various groups retired through the opening of the fence into the village of Las in the order in which they first appeared on the sand-beach, the *zogo le* being the last to retire.

THE INSTRUCTION OF THE KESI

After a *kési* had seen the masks, he was instructed as follows: He was told he was no longer a boy, and might no longer play about, but must do work as men do. He must no longer spend his days catching fish on the reef as he could not do that and have a good garden, but he might go on the reef once a week or so. He was strictly enjoined to make a good and large garden and he was taught the best way of gardening, as for example, "When you got *ketai* (a kind of yam that climbs), you plant him along big tree, you keep him along tree for three or four years"; how to make *sopsop* bananas, and so forth. He was told to build a large house for himself and to surround it with a fence. "You no steal food belong another man—no steal anything." One version was "No steal him garden, banana, yam; No steal him girl or woman; No steal thing belong man." "You no fight woman or nobody." "You be quiet." He was told not to talk scandal. "You no play, you stop quiet." He was not allowed to dance, or sing, or smoke for one year (one informant said "no sing for two years¹"), and he had to sit with bended head (*esorgiru emri*), and he was threatened with death if he did not do so. He was not allowed to cut or dress his hair for one year on pain of death. Finally he was told, "Suppose you tell another man or a woman about Malu, I kill you dead. You no tell woman name belong Bomai, that *gumik nei*."

We feel that this information can be relied upon, as after an interval of ten years one of us was told the same injunctions as on the previous occasion in almost exactly the same words and sequence.

¹ Probably this meant that until the *kési* had seen all the ceremonies he was to refrain from partaking in secular dances, *kap*.

It is highly significant that the elders realised wherein lay success in life, for they laid great stress on gardening and disparaged the young man from spending much time on fishing. It was the duty of the youth to settle down in life, with a permanent home and to live at peace with all men.

MAGUR.

Part of the initiation ceremonies at Dam, Gazir and Kiam consisted in thoroughly frightening the *kèsi* with representations of a spiritual personality known as Magur or Ib. The *kèsi* were taken to a retired spot on the afternoon of the day in which they had first seen the masks, and then the men dressed up as Magur rushed in upon them and hit them with *tulik* (axes), and *gabagabu* (stone-headed clubs). Sometimes the lads were only bruised, but they might be so cut or injured as to leave permanent scars; a few old men have exhibited such scars to us. The boys usually jumped up and tried to run away, but their fathers caught them and said to them "You no go, you stay." We obtained at Las a curious club, *tut* (pl. XVII. fig. 9), made of *nigir* stone (which is said to be found in Dauan); it is 39 cm. (15½ in.) in length and weighs nearly 3 kilos. (6½ lbs.). It appears to be a natural stone which was perhaps selected because it had a convenient grip, at all events the stone is a foreign one. It was formerly used by the *zogo le* to hit the initiates with during the Malu ceremonies, the *tut* came from the *au kòp* at Gazir.

The function of representing Magur was said to belong solely to the *Zagareb le*, one informant went so far as to say that "*Beizam boai* no savvy¹." The men who personated Magur (and many might do so at a time) rubbed coco-nut oil over their bodies and covered themselves with banana or coco-nut leaves in such a manner that they could not be distinguished. They also took two rough shells, such as small clams (*Tridacna*), and rubbed and hit them together, or they carried and shook a rattle of *gða* nuts (*Pangium edule*), one specimen of this (fig. 70) which we obtained consists of a twisted cane ring, 18 × 20 cm. in diameter, supported by two crossed sticks bound round with string, there are about 85 nuts, each of which is suspended by a short string; most of the nuts were ruddled.

The *kèsi* were at this time warned that they would be killed if they divulged any of the Bomai or Malu secrets, and that Magur would kill other men too if they offended against Malu. Magur and the old men told the *kèsi*, "No keep word close to heart, he go speak quick; but in big toe, then you keep him long, when grey hair no speak." Another way of saying that what the *kèsi* had heard must be kept so deep down that it would never come up not even if he lived to be an old man.

The *kèsi* were informed that the Magur were not really ghosts but only men dressed up. Women and non-initiates had a great dread of the Magur, and the

¹ One of us however has the following memorandum. When Obra (16) was an Ib he said the following close to the Malu *zogo*: *Niai kerem markawem sabi kedarwer nerut nai gereger nobosor* (For ever youths law — another — day —). Obra lived at Saugiz in the Kòmet district and was therefore a *Beizam boai*, and the same informant said that Magur was performed by *Zagareb*, *Beizam*, *Omai* and *Daumer le*. We cannot explain this discrepancy.

former and children believed them to be ghosts. The fright that the *kèsi* received left an impression that lasted throughout life. Magur was the *kebi nei*, or common name, which was known to everybody, but Ib was the *zogo nei*, sacred name, or *au nei*, big name.



FIG. 70. Rattle made of *gda* nuts used by Magur.

When a member of the Bomai-Malu fraternity died and the body had been placed on the *paier*, the *zogo le* instructed some men to disguise themselves as Magur and to go at night to the house where the women were mourning in order to frighten them (p. 136).

It is evident that Magur was essentially the disciplinary executive of the Malu cult. All breaches of discipline, or acts of sacrilege, or deeds that brought an individual into disfavour with the Malu authorities were punished by Magur. Magur was also the means for terrorising the women and thereby of keeping up the fear and mystery of the Malu ceremonies.

FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Most of the funeral ceremonies described in Section VIII. (pp. 126—162) refer to members of the Bomai-Malu fraternity. The bodies of the older men belonging to the *Beizam boai* and *Zagareb le* were taken to the *deber uteb* in the bush, but those of the younger members were taken to the beach, as were those of the *Nog le*.

The corpses of the older *Beizam boai* were alone decorated all over with white feathers, *ebur plis* (p. 145), and otherwise accoutred like the three *zogo le* at the Malu dances (p. 308). The four songs given on pp. 151, 152 were termed *zogo wed*, *zogo* songs. A peculiar custom, of which we can find no detailed information, occurred during the funeral ceremonies. A number of "*Malu le*" (*Beizam le*), whose bodies were covered over with the white feathers of the Torres Straits pigeon, lay piled one upon another, each with his chin resting upon his fore-arms, which were crossed in front of him. The *Omai le* jumped on the top of the heap of the *Beizam le*. This information was sent to us by Mr Bruce and at the same time he sent a drawing made by Pasi of this scene (pl. XXVII. fig. 1).

The bodies of the older *Zagareb le* were taken to their appropriate *deber uteb* and placed on a *paier*; we have no information how the corpses were decorated, except that they were not treated as above. The relatives cried all night and at daybreak ceased singing the *asasem wed* (pp. 130, 150). The four *zogo wed* were not sung, as this was *zogo tonar*, *zogo* custom, for the *Zagareb le* were entitled only to *kab wed*, dance songs. After the decay of the body, the skull was taken as usual and was wrapped up in a *ka* mat (fig. 11, p. 36); this circumstance is an additional indication that the *Zagareb le* were of inferior status to the *Beizam boai*, since Malu (Bomai) reserved to himself the right of sitting on coco-nut leaves and relegated the *ka* mat to his "brothers" (p. 35).

MYTHICAL BEINGS.

By A. C. HADDON.

MR BRUCE, in a written communication, first called my attention to the fact that in the legends and folk-lore the principal personages, both male and female, are rarely married, "and when anyone is recounting," he goes on to say, "the deeds and adventures of any of them, and you ask if they were married or who their parents were, he looks at you and replies as if you had committed an act of desecration in asking such a question,

'Nole e nole kosker kak e nole babu kak e tabara tonar!'

No he without a woman he without a father he his own kind of thing.

'Certainly not! He comes in his own manner without a mother or a father.'

"It is very amusing to hear the mamoose Harry scorning the idea of these people being married or having parents. These great personages are as real to him as are his own wife and children."

The following analysis is sufficiently full to demonstrate the general truth of Mr Bruce's remarks. It should however be borne in mind that in many cases it is a matter of indifference to the story whether the heroes were married or who were their parents; as for example, Tagai and his crew, Pepker and Ziaino, Wakai and Kuskus, and others.

Single, childless women. The Ti (p. 10) were ancient, but youthful-looking, virgins, and Dòpeb (p. 10) was a very big woman without husband or friend. Deiau, Ter-pipi and Ter-seberseber (p. 5) were three unmarried young women who lived by themselves; Meidu (p. 13), Irado, who grew out of the ground (p. 51), Gawer (p. 26), and others were old spinsters.

Women with children, but no husbands. Nageg (p. 15) lived alone and Geigi was born when she defæcated on a certain occasion. Kudar, the mother of Abob and Kos (p. 21), had no husband. The parentage of Aukem (p. 31) is unknown, she had a son but not a husband.

Married people. Although Dòg and Kabur (p. 38) were prominent people in the important Bomai legend, and there were supernatural manifestations connected with the coming of Bomai, yet these and Kabur's brothers are considered as ordinary historical personages, and do not rank in the same category as the above-mentioned legendary characters. On the other hand the widow Kiar (p. 53) with her several daughters may be regarded as belonging to the latter class.

Unmarried men. Markep and Sarkep (p. 54) were middle-aged bachelors, and Iruam (p. 6) appears to have lived alone in his water-hole, Iriam Moris (p. 16) also lived by himself on Dauar.

As among the characters in the folk-tales of the Western Islanders (Vol. v. p. 377) all grades of individuals are found from men to demigods. There are some individuals about whom there is nothing remarkable, such as Gedori who first discovered the coco-nut was edible (p. 52), or Markep and Sarkep (p. 54), or Wakai and Kuskus (p. 46). There are others who can transform themselves into animals, like Mokeis (p. 54), or the Ti maidens (p. 8); or to whom something supernatural happens, like Maiwer (p. 47). Many were turned into stones like Iruam (p. 7), and Iriam Moris (p. 18), or into gardens as the girls in the story of Meidu (p. 14), or into animals as the young men in the same story, or as in the cases of Nageg and Geigi (p. 18); while Tagai and his crew became stars (p. 3). None of these individuals affect the social or religious life of the natives to any extent, they merely serve to point a moral or to explain certain objects or events.

The culture heroes belong to a different category, Gedori (p. 52) cannot justly be placed here as he did not introduce the coco-nut. Edible fruits and useful vegetation were introduced into the Murray Islands from the west by Gelam (p. 25), and from New Guinea by Sida (p. 19); but Abob and Kos (p. 25) were local heroes who built the fish-weirs on the reefs and taught variations in speech to various Eastern Islanders, according to some they introduced coco-nut shrines (*u zogo*). Fire was brought from the western islands (p. 29), and although Aukem and Terer (pp. 31, 128) are spoken of as if of Miriam origin they certainly were western culture heroes (Vol. v. p. 56) who were connected with funeral ceremonies; strangely enough one informant distinctly asserted this "story belong man," thus affirming that Terer was not regarded as a supernatural being although he carried away the ghosts of recently deceased people.

The significance of *pager* (p. 133), who appears in the *zera markai keber*, is not at all obvious, he evidently has some connection with the spirit-world.

Walet (p. 277, and Vol. v. pp. 49, 252) introduced an initiation ceremony and numerous funeral ceremonies from the west into Waier. The great initiation ceremonies of Bomai and Malu were frankly acknowledged to have been also introduced from the west. Bomai (or Malu) is related to western heroes (Vol. v. pp. 64, 375); these culture heroes were, apparently, on the point of being apotheosised when their cults were destroyed by the advent of the white man.

The *ad giz* (p. 258) seem undoubtedly to have been ancient head-men of their respective groups who appear to have been revered, though to what extent it is very difficult to determine. Though Mr Bruce defines *ad giz* as "the first god, or god of the very beginning of things," he evidently does not employ the term "god" in its strictest sense, as he admits that their descendants "could not have looked upon their *ad* as supernatural beings."

Among celestial bodies we find various orders of personages: Tagai and his crew are mortals transformed, with their canoe, into stars (p. 3). The evening star and the moon (p. 4) are living individuals with the weaknesses of mortals. The *Beizam* constellation (p. 270) has an earthly shrine which causes garden produce to be abundant.

The Dogai star, which is supposed to be very powerful and to act malevolently towards mankind (p. 271), is regarded as an evilly-disposed personage who could readily be converted into a god, but, judging (so far as our information goes) from an absence of prayer or offerings, this step does not appear to have been taken.

I am inclined to believe that neither among the Western nor the Eastern Islanders has the idea of a definite god been evolved. They have, I admit, come very close to the conception, but do not appear to have taken the final step, and I am tempted to connect this omission with the absence of a definite and powerful chieftainship (for the mamoooses had little real rank or authority, the government being essentially in the hands of the old men), hence there was no autocratic social type upon which the incipient demigods could be modelled and thereby be transformed into actual deities.

We did not discover in Torres Straits anything like an All-Father or Supreme Being.

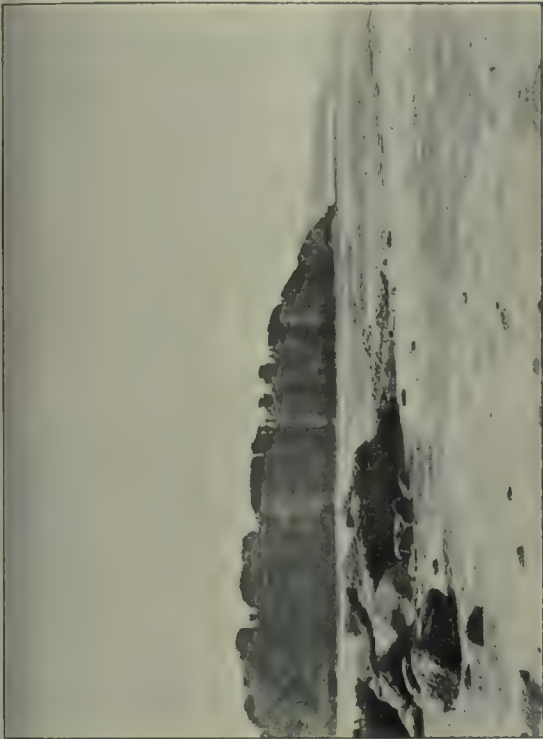


FIG. 2. Part of the island of Waier, with Mer in the distance; the pinnacles are called *warip* (pp. 26—28).



FIG. 4. Waipem, a turtle shrine (p. 216).



FIG. 1. Sorkar, a fish shrine. Waier and Dauar are seen in the distance (pp. 42, 217).



FIG. 3. Geigi's fish-spear (p. 18).



FIG. 2. *Sai* or fish-weirs (pp. 27, 28, 218).



FIG. 4. The Canoe of Abob (p. 26).



FIG. 1. The Iruam stone (p. 8).



FIG. 3. The Meidu stone in Dauar. Waier is seen in the distance (p. 15).



FIG. 1. *Gawer-ra ged*, Gawer's place, Keriam, An Dauar (p. 28).



FIG. 2. Gawer and her treasures, *ido lu* (cf. Pl. VI. fig. 4; p. 28).



FIG. 3. *Sewerest u zogo*, coconut shrine at Ornei, Au Dauar (pp. 26, 28, 206).



FIG. 4. *Enau zogo* or Shrine of the wild plum (cf. Pl. XIII. fig. 10; p. 203).



FIG. 1. Irado and her basket (pp. 50—52).



FIG. 2. The Barat stone at Kingob (p. 42).

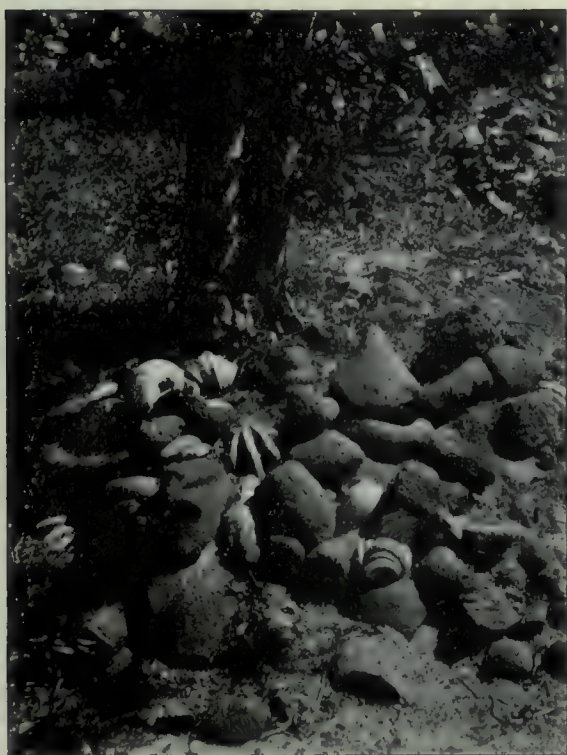


FIG. 3. The shrine of Zabaker (p. 20).



FIG. 4. Ai geres and her basket (p. 212).



FIG. 1. *Pager* in front of the village of Sebeg, the *zera markai* are seen in the distance (p. 133).



FIG. 2. The *Au kosker* in their cave (p. 279).



FIG. 3. *Ziai neur* at Damud, Dauar (pp. 5, 56).



FIG. 4. *Markep* at Waperered, Dauar (p. 56).

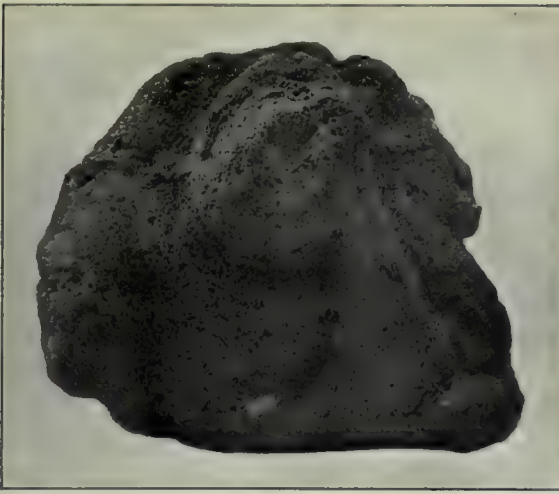


FIG. 1. *Kol* (p. 11).



FIG. 2. *Ter-pipi Ter-seberseber* (p. 8).



FIG. 3. Stone top illustrating the story of *Geigi* (pp. 16, 17).

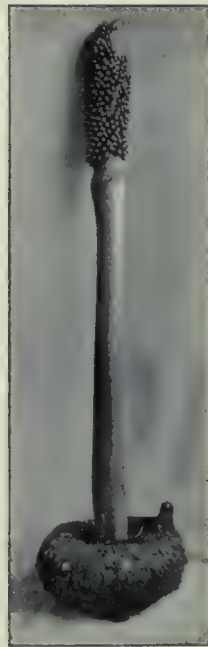


FIG. 7. *Ager* (pp. 2, 6, 9, 11).



FIG. 4. *Gawer* (cf. Pl. III. figs. 1, 2; p. 28).



FIG. 5. Front view of *Kaperkaper* (p. 53).



FIG. 6. Back view of *Kaperkaper*.



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.

Fig. 1, three-quarter front, Fig. 2, left side, and Fig. 3, front views of the skull of a fish, *gwalar*, carved out of coral (p. 234).

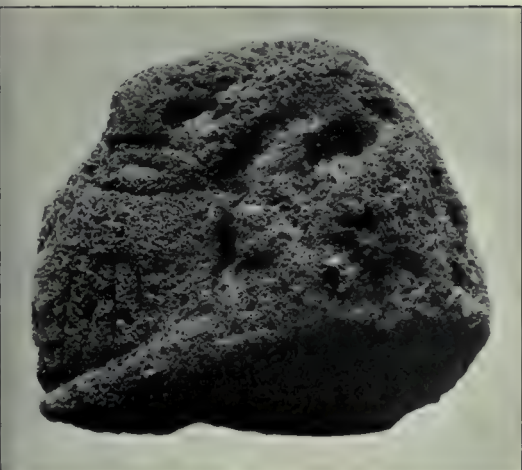


FIG. 6. Head of a *zole* from Las (p. 235).



FIG. 5. Pepker (p. 5).

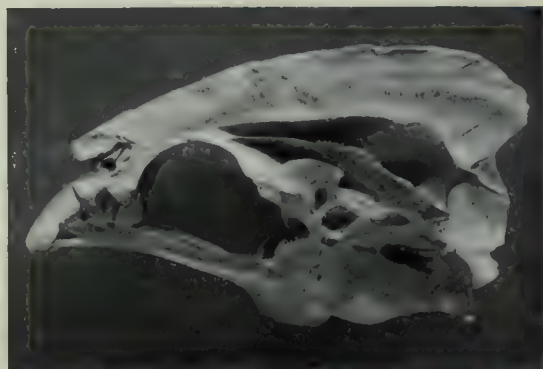


FIG. 4. Skull of one of the Carangidæ, probably a *Seriola* (p. 234).



FIG. 2. Rain shrine at Lewag, erected by Gasu (p. 199).



FIG. 1. "Dugena," Gasu's doiom, or Rain charm (pp. 194, 195).



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3.



FIG. 4.

Figs. 1—5. *Doiom*, or Rain charms (p. 194).



FIG. 6. Gasu and his rain shrine (p. 195).



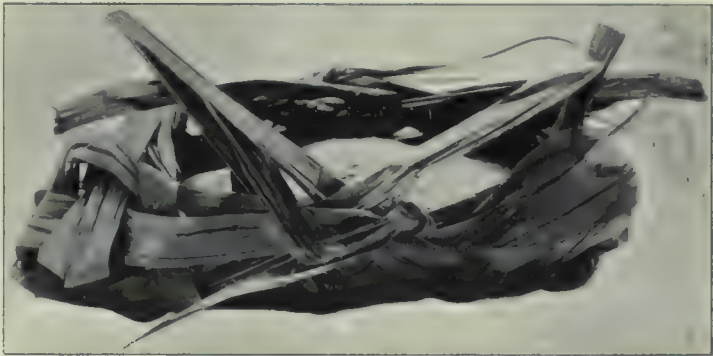
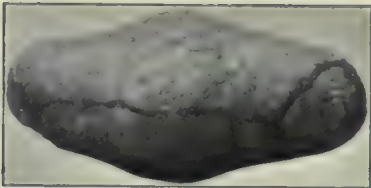
FIG. 5. *Dioim*. This Fig. and Fig. 3 are said to come from Mabuiag, but must have been made in Mer.



FIG. 7. Package containing *dioim* and *lukup* (p. 198).



FIG. 1. Head of Kudar (p. 22).



FIGS. 2, 3. *Tik*, a Garden charm (p. 212).



FIG. 4. *Sabi*, a sign of taboo (p. 249).



FIG. 5. *Sabi*, a sign of taboo (p. 249).

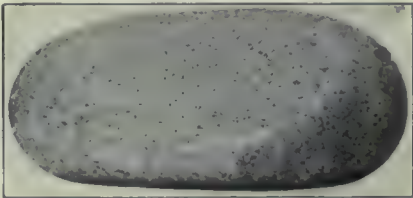


FIG. 6. Yam stone, *lewer kep* (p. 212).



FIG. 7. Yam stone, *lewer kep*.

FIG. 8. *Lewer kep* (p. 212).



FIG. 9. Sorcery stone, *wiwar* (p. 234).



FIGS. 10, 11, 12. Sorcery stones, *wiwar* (p. 234).



FIG. 13. *W'ucar* (p. 234).



FIG. 1 (p. 194).



FIG. 2 (p. 194).



FIG. 3. "Serpaker" (pp. 194, 195).



FIG. 4 (p. 194).



FIG. 5 (p. 194).



FIG. 6 (p. 195).



FIG. 7 (p. 195).

Doiom or Rain charms.



FIG. 1. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).



FIG. 2. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).



FIG. 3. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).



FIG. 4. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).

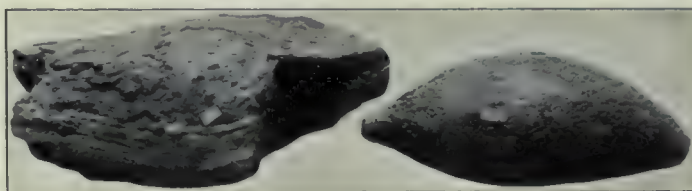


FIG. 7. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202). FIG. 8. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).



FIG. 5. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).



FIG. 6. *Bager*, Fire charm (p. 202).

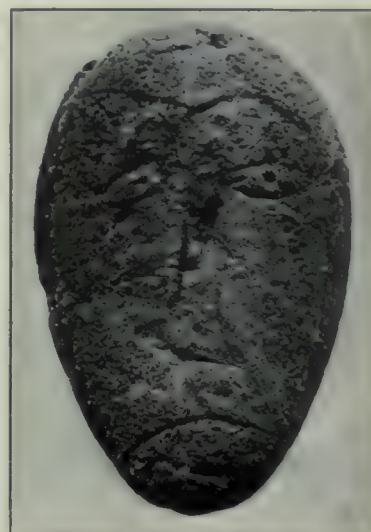


FIG. 9. A *zole* (p. 235).



FIG. 1. *Tabu*, or snake charm, to kill rats (p. 220).



FIGS. 2, 3. *Birobiro zogo* (p. 211).



FIG. 5 (p. 209).



FIGS. 6, 7, 8 (p. 207).

Sokop madub, tobacco charms.

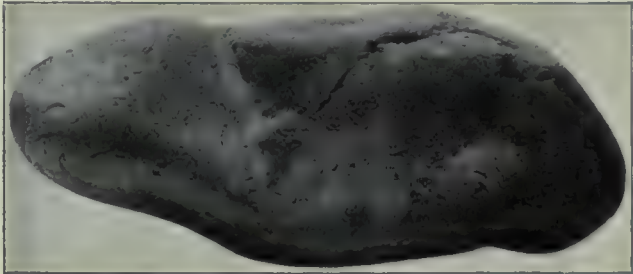


FIG. 4. *Naror*, *birobiro zogo* (p. 211).

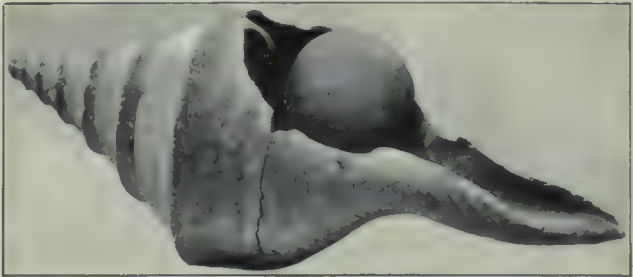


FIG. 9. *Lever kep zogo*, yam charm (p. 212).



FIG. 10. Basket of fruit from the *Enau zogo* (cf. Pl. III. fig. 4; p. 203).

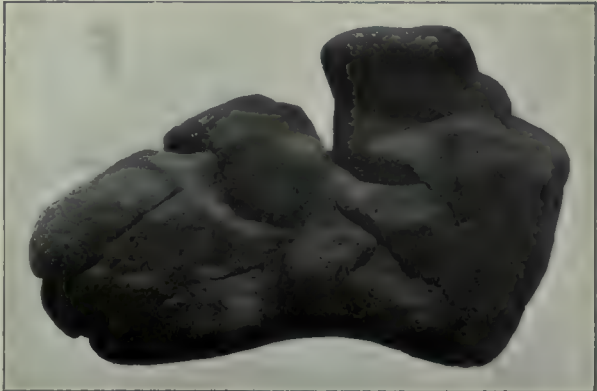


FIG. 11. *Ketai kep zogo*, yam charm (p. 212).

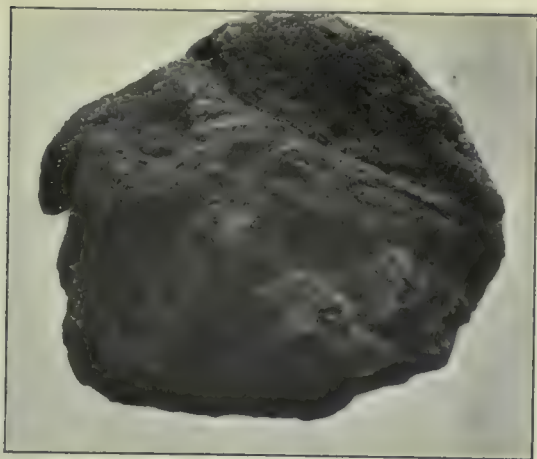


FIG. 1. A garden zole (pp. 212-13).

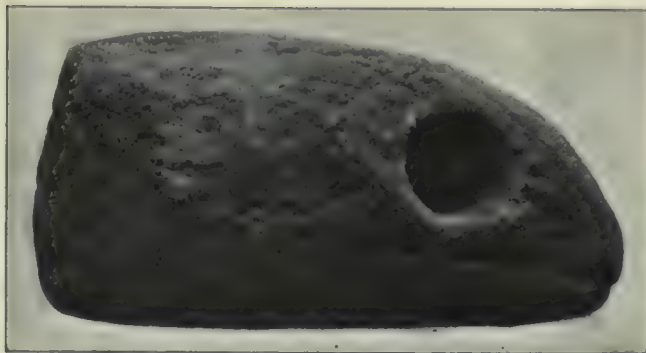


FIG. 2. *Uris kerem*, Sorcery stone (p. 234).



FIG. 3. *Mokeis*, Rat charm (p. 220).

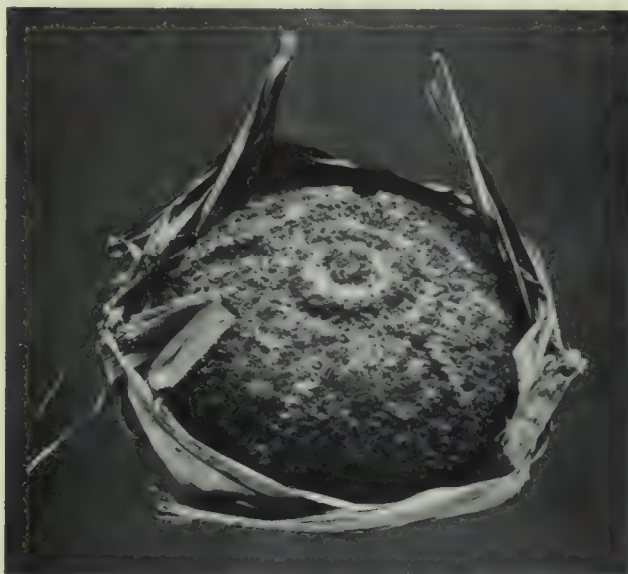


FIG. 4. Magical stone of uncertain use (p. 235).

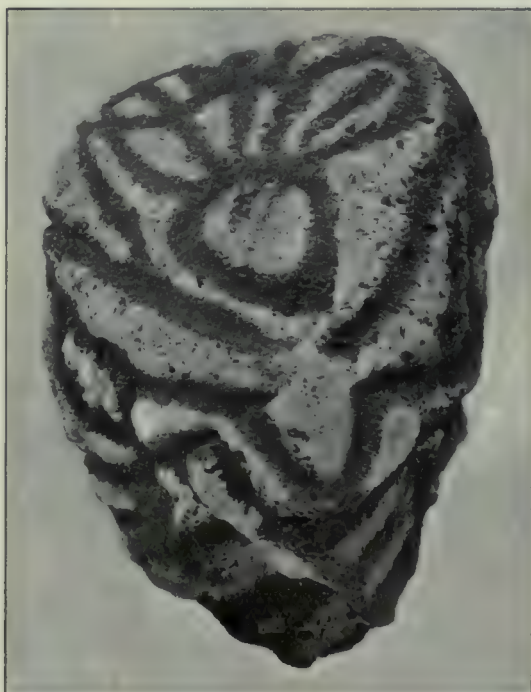




FIG. 1. *Zera markai* (p. 134).

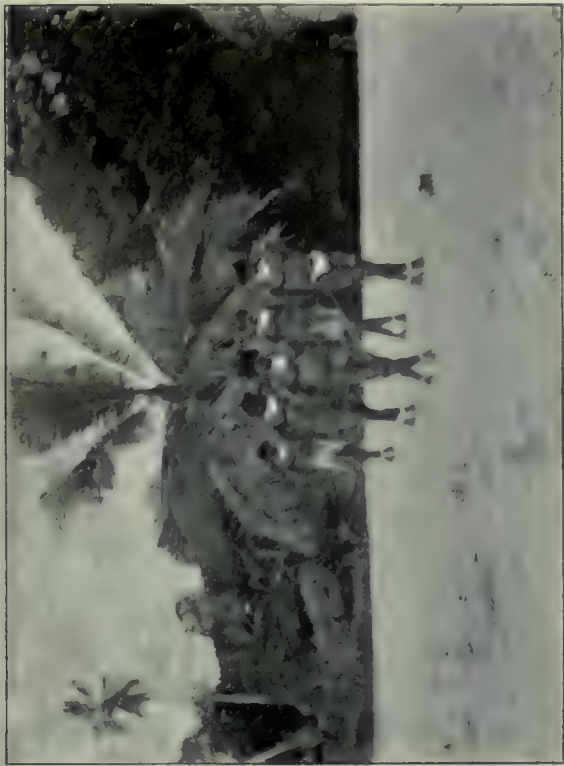


FIG. 2. *Zera markai* (p. 134).



FIG. 3. *Kuketut*, Present of food (p. 119).



FIG. 4. *Kuketut*, Present of food (p. 119).



Sabagorar, Turtle-shell ornaments worn by brides. FIG. 6. A fish-hook (p. 114).



Ter or Luper, Bodkins worn by brides (p. 114).

O, Shell pendants worn by brides (p. 114).

Fish-bone pendants worn by brides (p. 114).



FIG. 1. "Wasikor," the sacred Malu drum, and two Malu stone-headed clubs (pp. 43, 296).

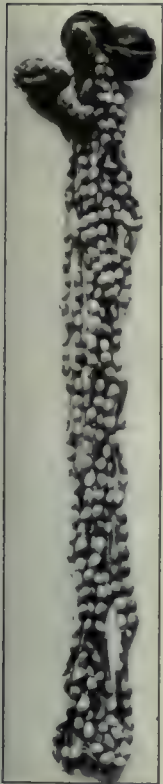


FIG. 5. Belt worn by the *kèsi* of the *Beizam boai* (p. 292).



FIG. 6. Chest pendant worn by the *kèsi* of the *Beizam boai* (p. 292).



FIG. 2. *Zogo kadik* (pp. 43, 296).



FIG. 7. *Nasi sauad* (p. 295).



FIG. 9. Stone club used by the *zogo le* to strike the *kèsi* (p. 311).



FIG. 3. *Zogo kadik* (p. 296).



FIG. 4. *Zogo kadik* (p. 296).



FIG. 8. Decorated human lower-jaw worn during the Malu ceremonies (p. 294).



FIG. 1. Mummy of an infant from Uga (p. 137).



FIG. 2. Mummy of a child from Uga (p. 137).



FIG. 3. *Pop le op*, Funeral mask (p. 135).



FIG. 4. *Pop le op*, Funeral mask (p. 135).



A

B

C

D

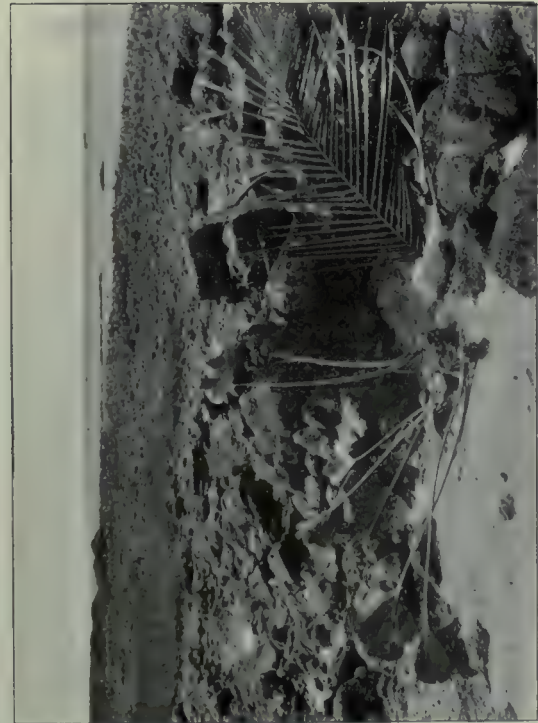


FIG. 1. *Wag zogo*, Wind *zogo*, showing the *nein* stone (p. 201).



FIG. 2. *Wag zogo*, men in act of raising a wind (p. 201).



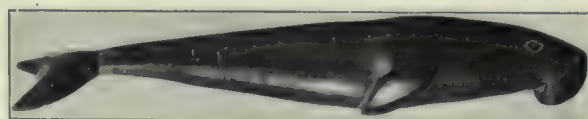
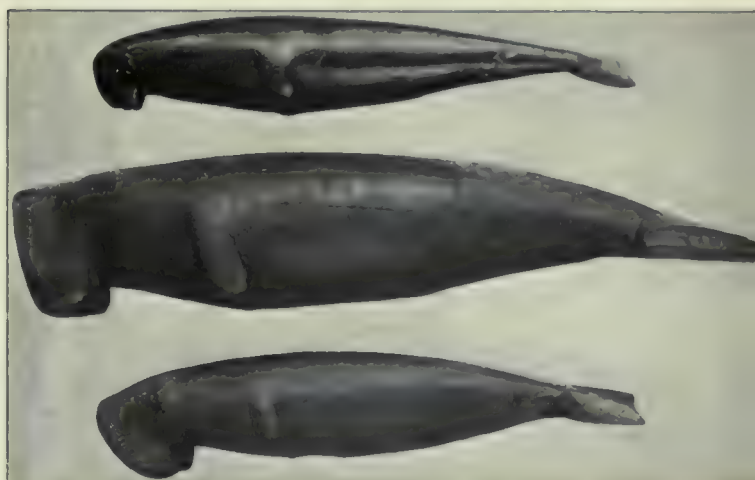
FIG. 3. Shrine at Dam (p. 303).



FIG. 4. *Zini neur* (p. 235).



FIGS. 1, 2. *Lar*, Fish charms (p. 217).



FIGS. 5, 6, 7, 8. *Deger*, Dugong charms (p. 217).



FIG. 3. *Gwis*, Fish charm (p. 218).

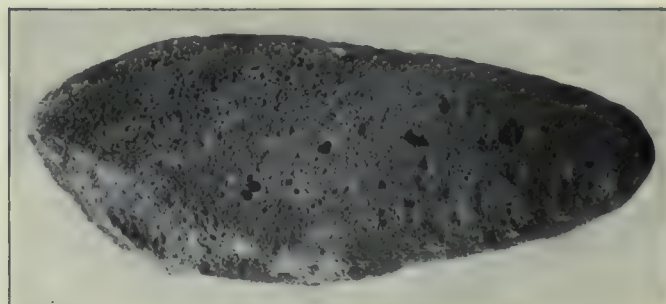


FIG. 4. *Garom*, Fish charm (p. 218).



FIG. 9. *Siriam nam zole*, Turtle charm, side view.



FIG. 10. *Siriam nam zole*, Turtle charm, front view (p. 216).

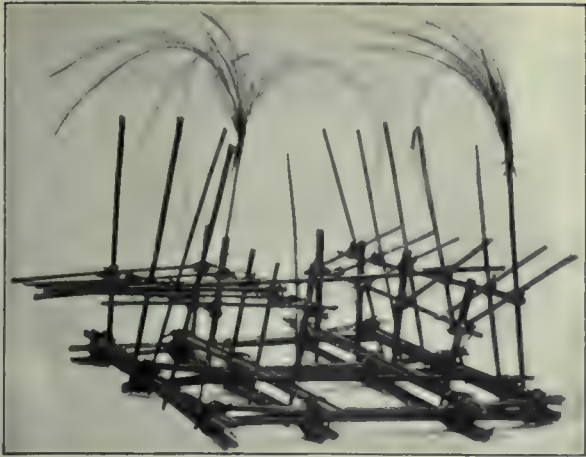


FIG. 1. Model of the Shrine of Walet (p. 278).

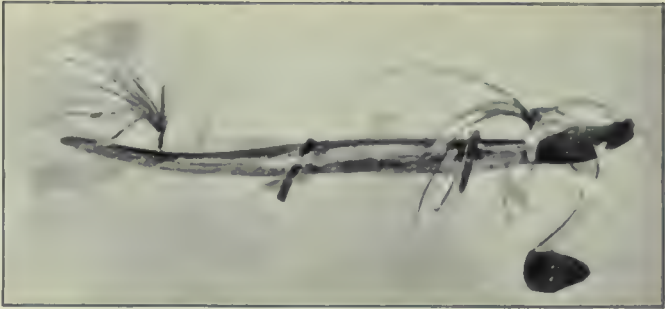
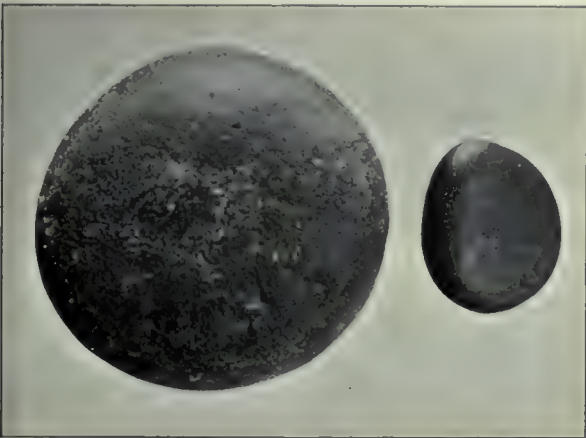


FIG. 2. Model of a Saibri lu (p. 229).



FIGS. 3, 4. Omabar, Love charms (p. 221).



FIG. 5. Omabar, Love charm (p. 221).



FIG. 13. Pagi, Wooden image of a sea-snake used as a sign of taboo (p. 249).



FIG. 8. Kog lu, Love charm (p. 221).

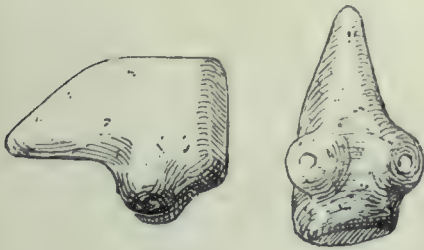


FIG. 6. Omabar, Love charm (p. 221).

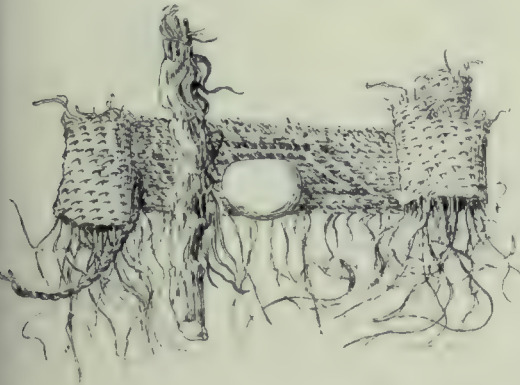


FIG. 7. Kog lu, Love charm (p. 221).



FIGS. 9, 10. Neur madub (p. 222).



FIGS. 11, 12. Zogo baur (p. 215).



FIGS. 1, 2. *Isau mani*, Wooden figures coated with wax, representing a man and a woman, used in malevolent magic (p. 231).



FIG. 3, *Ganomi*. FIG. 4, *Ginamai*. FIG. 5, *Bom*.
Ad giz (p. 258).



FIG. 6. *Walet* (p. 277).



FIG. 7. Model of a *Dogai* mask worn in the *Dogaira wetpur* (p. 209).



FIG. 1. Ne on Waier, Korsor in the middle (pp. 15, 18, 277-8).



FIG. 2. Sandbeach of Las, the furthest point is Mei (p. 308).



FIG. 3. Tomog zoyo (p. 261).

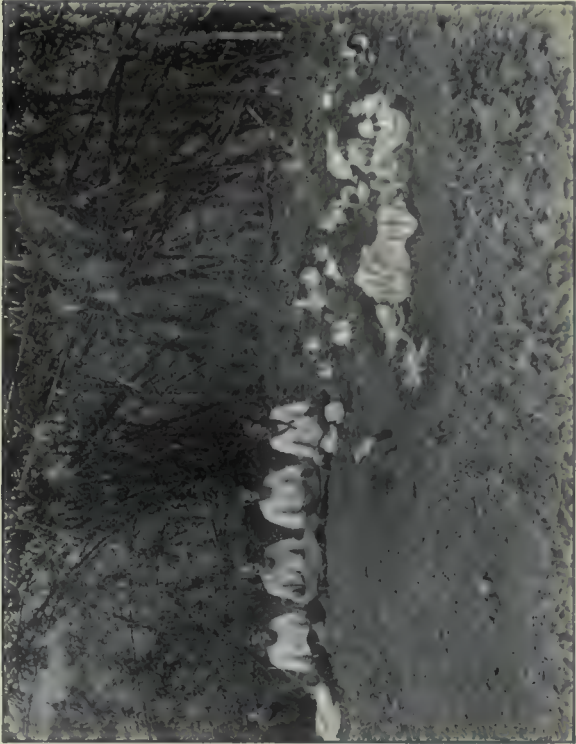


FIG. 4. Tomog zoyo (p. 261).

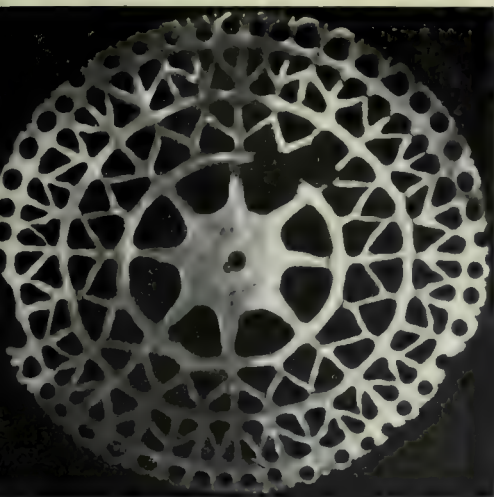


FIG. 1. Ornament worn by the *Geregere le* (p. 295).



FIG. 2. Ornament worn by the *Geregere le* (p. 295).



FIG. 4. Turtle-shell pendant representing a sting-ray, *tapim* (p. 256).

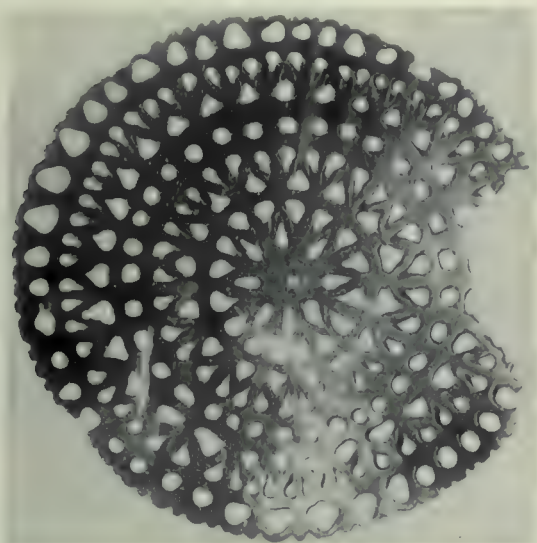
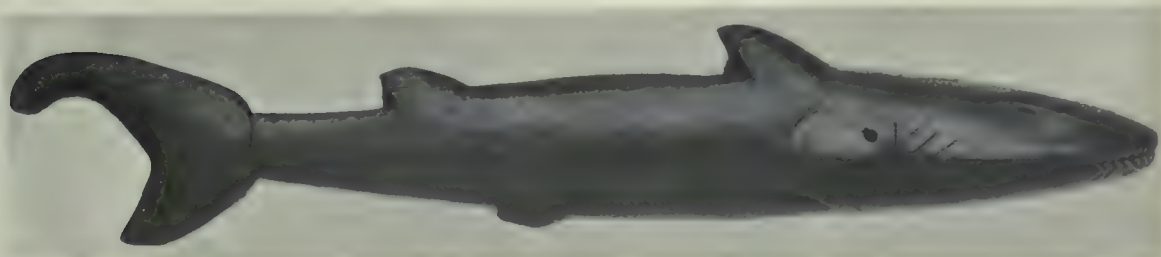


FIG. 3. Ornament worn by the *Geregere le* (p. 295).



FIG. 5. Masked dancer painted on a stone top (p. 256).



FIGS. 6, 7. Side and upper views of a wooden model of a shark (p. 256).



FIG. 2. The Malu Dances: *Daumer le* advancing (p. 309).



FIG. 4. The Malu Dances: *Beizam booi* and *Zagareb le*, *Omai le* in the distance (p. 309).



FIG. 1. The Malu Dances: *Omai le* advancing (p. 308).



FIG. 3. The Malu Dances: *Daumer le* and *Omai le* (p. 309).



FIG. 1. The Ceremony at Las (p. 308).



FIG. 2. Murray Islanders eager for barter, from an engraving by H. Melville (p. 187).



FIG. 1. Heap of *Malu le*, drawn by Pasi (p. 313).



FIG. 2. *Terer* (p. 132).



FIG. 3. *Tur siriam le* (p. 143).



FIG. 4. *Terei mask* (p. 143).

FIG. 5. *Tur siriam le* (p. 143).



FIG. 6. *Bud lu*, consisting of a *pit tonar* and boar's tusk (p. 158).



FIG. 1. Rehearsal of the Malu dirge (p. 145).



FIG. 2. Decorated skull, as used for divination (pp. 126, 148, 268).

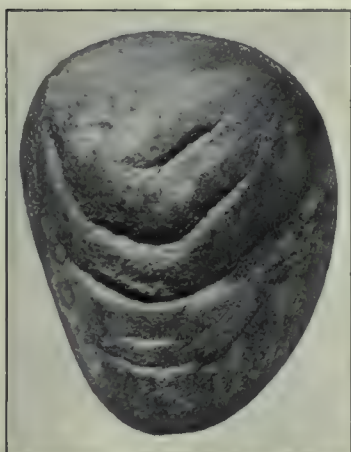


FIG. 3. *Wiwar*, Sorcery stone (p. 234).

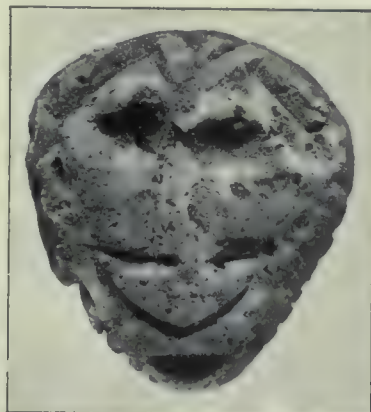


FIG. 4. *Wiwar*, Sorcery stone (p. 234).



FIG. 5. Crescentic ornament worn in a war dance (p. 277).



FIG. 6. Turtle-shell mask (p. 289).



FIG. 1.



FIG. 2.



FIG. 3. Three phases of the Ceremonial Dance of the Bomai-Malu *zogo le* (pp. 306—7).



Restoration of the Initiation Ceremony of the Bomai-Malu Cult (p. 306).

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